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A
GENERAL HISTORY
OF
CONNECTICUT,
FROM ITS

First Settlement under GEORGE FENWICK, Esq.

TO ITS

Latest Period of Amity with GREAT BRITAIN;

INCLUDING

A DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY,

And many curious and interesting ANECDOTES.

To which is added,

An APPENDIX, wherein new and the true Sources of the present
Rebellion in America are pointed out; together with the particular
Part taken by the People of Connecticut in its Promotion.

By a GENTLEMAN of the PROVINCE.

Plus apud me ratio valebit, quam vulgi opinio.

Cic. Parad. 1.

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P R E F A C E.

THOUGH Connecticut be the most flourishing, and, proportionally, the most populous province in North-America, it has hitherto found no writer to introduce it, in its own right, to the notice of the world. Slight and cursory mention in the accounts of other provinces, or of America in general, has yet only been made of it. The historians of New-England have constantly endeavoured to aggrandize Massachusetts-Bay as the parent of the other colonies, and as comprehending all that is worthy of attention, in that

A 2 country.

country. Thus Governor Hutchinson says, in the Preface to his History of that Province, "that
" there was no importation of planters from England to any part
" of the continent, northward of Maryland, except to the Massachusetts, for more than 50 years
" after the colony began;" not knowing, or willing to forget or to conceal, that Saybrook, New-haven, and Long-Island, were settled by emigrants *from England* within half that period. Another reason for the obscurity in which the Connecticutensians have hitherto been involved, is to be found among their own sinister views and
pur-

purposes. Prudence dictated, that their deficiency in point of right to the soil they occupied, their wanton and barbarous persecutions, illegal practices, daring usurpations, &c. &c. had better be concealed, than exposed to public view. To dissipate this cloud of prejudice and knavery, and to bring to light truths long concealed, is the motive of my offering the following sheets to the world. I am bold to assert, that Connecticut merits a fuller account than envy or ignorance has yet suffered to be given of it; and that I have followed the line of truth freely, and unbiassed by partiality or prejudice.

The Reader, therefore, will not be surpris'd, should I have placed the New-Englanders in a different light from that in which they have yet appeared : their characterizers have not been sufficiently unprejudiced, unawed by power, or unaffected by the desire of obtaining it, always to set them in the true one. Dr. Mather and Mr. Neal were popular writers; but at the time they extolled the prudence and piety of the colonists, they suppressed what are called in New-England *unnecessary truths*. Governor Hutchinson, who loved fame, and feared giving offence, published a few only of those truths; which
failed

failed not to procure him a proportionate share of popular distrust and odium. For my own part, I believe my readers will give me credit, for having neither the favour nor fear of man before me in writing this History of Connecticut. I discard the one; I court not the other. My sole aim has been to represent the country, the people, and their transactions, in proper colours.

Too much, however, must not be expected from me. I am very sensible of many great defects in this performance, wherein very little assistance was to be obtained from the publications of others.

Mr.

Mr. Chalmers, indeed, who is writing "*Political Annals of the present United Colonies*," pursues that task with great pains and address. His researches have been of some use to me; but, as to the New-England writers, error, disguise, and misrepresentation, too much abound in them to be serviceable in this undertaking, though they related more to the subject than they do. The good-natured critic, therefore, will excuse the want of a regular and connected detail of facts and events, which it was impossible for me to preserve, having been deprived of papers of my ancestors, which would have given my relation

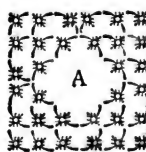
lation that and other advantages. I hope, therefore, for much indulgence, striking, as I have done, into a new and dark path, almost wholly without a guide. If I have carried myself through it, though with some digressions, yet without incurring the danger of being accounted a deceiver, my disordered garb will, I presume, find an apology in the ruggedness of the road, and my scripture phraseology be ascribed to the usage of my country.

For three generations my forefathers were careful observers of the proceedings of the Connecticut colonists;

lonists; and, if their papers and myself should continue in existence till a return of peace shall restore them to my possession, I trust the Public will not be displeased with the design I have of committing them to the press. In the mean time, lest that event should never take place, I beg their acceptance of the present volume, which, whatever other historical requisite it may want, must, I think, be allowed to possess originality and truth, (rare properties in modern publications,) and therefore, I hope, will not be deemed unworthy the public favour.



A GENERAL
H I S T O R Y
O F
CONNECTICUT.

 AFTER several unsuccessful attempts to form settlements in the southern parts of North - America, in which little more had been done than giving the name *Virginia*, in compliment to the Virgin-queen Elizabeth, to the country, a patent was obtained, in 1606, from James I. by Sir Thomas Gates and Associates, of all lands there between the 34th and 45th degrees of North latitude : and, at the patentees own solicitation, they were divided into two Companies, commonly denominated the London and Ply-

Plymouth Companies; to the former of which were granted all the lands between the 34th and 41st degrees of North latitude, and to the latter all those between the 38th and 45th degrees. A part of the coast of the territory last mentioned being explored in 1614, and a chart presented to the then Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles I. it received from him the appellation of *New-England*.

In the mean time, however, notwithstanding the claim of the English in general to North America, and the particular grant to Sir Thomas Gates and Associates, above-mentioned, the Dutch got footing on Manahattan or New-York Island, pushed up Hudson's river as high as Albany, and were beginning to spread on its banks, when, in 1614, they were compelled by Sir Samuel Argal to acknowledge themselves subjects of the King of England, and submit to the authority of the Governor of Virginia.

For

CONNECTICUT. *1

For the better enabling them to accomplish their American undertakings, the Plymouth Company, in 1620, obtained a new patent, admitting new members of rank and fortune. By this they were styled "The Council, established at "Plymouth, for planting and governing "that country called New-England;" and to them were now granted all the lands between the 40th and 48th degrees of N. latitude, and extending East and West from the Atlantic Ocean to the South Sea, except such as were then actually possessed by any christian prince or people. Not long afterwards, the patentees came to the resolution of making a division of the country among themselves by lot, which they did in the presence of James I. The map of New England, &c. published by Purchas in 1625, which is now become scarce, and probably the only memorial extant of the result, has the following names on the following portions of the coast:

B

Earl

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Earl of Arundel	}	Between the rivers St. Croix and Penobscot.
Sir Ferdinando Gorges		
Earl of Carlisle		

Lord Keeper	}	Between Penobscot and Sagadahoc river.
Sir William Belafis		
Sir Robert Mansell		

Earl of Holdernes	}	Between Sagada- hoc and Charles river.
Earl of Pembroke		
Lord Sheffield		
Sir Henry Spelman		
Sir William Apsley		
Captain Love		
Duke of Buckingham		
Earl of Warwick		
Duke of Richmond		
Mr. Jennings		
Dr. Sutcliffe		

Lord Gorges	}	Between Charles river and Nar- raganset.
Sir Samuel Argal		
Dr. Bar. Gooch		

In the above map, no names appear on the coast north of the river St. Croix, i. e. Nova Scotia, which was relinquished by the

the patentees in favour of Sir William Alexander : the coast west of Narraganset is not exhibited by Purchas, so that it is uncertain whether the division above mentioned extended to that or not. Probably, it was not then sufficiently explored. However, in 1635, the patentees, from the exigency of their affairs, thinking a surrender of their patent to the King, with reservation of their several rights in regard to the property of the land, an advisable measure, a new division of the coast was struck out, consisting of twelve lots, extending to and comprizing land on the west side of Hudson's river, and of course the Dutch settlements at Manahattan. The following is an account of these lots :

- “ 1. From the river St. Croix to Pemaquid.
2. From Pemaquid to Sagadahoc.
3. The land between the rivers Amaraſcoggin and Kenebec.

B 2

4. From

4. From Sagadahoc along the sea-coast to Piscataqua.
5. From Piscataqua to Naumkeak [or Salem].
6. From Naumkeak, round the sea-coast by Cape Cod, to Narraganset.
7. From Narraganset to the half-way bound between that and Connecticut river, and so fifty miles up into the country.
8. From the half-way bound to Connecticut river, and so fifty miles into the country.
9. From Connecticut river, along the sea-coast, to Hudson's river, and so up thirty miles.
10. From the thirty miles end to cross up forty miles eastward.
11. From the West side of Hudson's river thirty miles up the country towards the fortieth degree, where New-England beginneth.
12. From

12. From the end of the thirty miles up the said river, Northward thirty miles further, and from thence to cross into the land forty miles."

Hutch. Hist. of Mass. Bay.

These divisions were, immediately on the above-mentioned surrender, to be confirmed by the King to the proprietors; and proposed to be erected into so many distinct provinces, under one general Governor of New-England. It is certain that this plan was not then carried into execution in the whole. Several, if not all, of the lots were formally conveyed to their respective owners previous to the resignation of the patent. How many were confirmed by the King, is not known: there is positive evidence but of one—to Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

The eighth and ninth lots nearly form the province of CONNECTICUT, taking its name from the great Indian king who reigned when the English made their first inroads into the country.

B 3

But

But before I give an account of that event, it may be proper to premise a few particulars concerning the Dutch, already spoken of as having seated themselves on New-York island and the banks of Hudson's river; and also concerning the settlements formed by the English in and near the Massachusetts-Bay.

The same year which established the Council at Plymouth, established also the Dutch West-India Company, to whom the States of Holland are said to have granted, the year after, all the lands between the Capes Cod and Henlopen. Under their encouragement and support, the Dutch at New-York were induced to look upon the act of Argal with contempt; accordingly they revolted from the allegiance he had imposed upon them, cast off the authority of their English Governor, and proceeded in their colonising pursuits under one of their own nation:—in which they seem to have employed their wonted industry, having, before the year 1637, erected

erected a fort on the spot where Hertford now stands.

A party of *Brownists*, who, in 1619, are said to have obtained a grant of land from the Virginia Company, set sail on the 6th of September, in the following year, for Hudson's river; but making, on the 11th of November, the harbour of Cape Cod, instead of the place of their destination, and finding themselves not in a fit condition to put to sea again at such a late season of the year, they ranged along the coast till a commodious situation presented itself, where they disembarked, and founded the colony of New Plymouth.

Seven years afterwards, a party of Puritans procured a grant of the lands from Merrimack river to the southernmost part of Massachusetts-Bay. They made their first settlement at Naumkeak, by them new named Salem; and a second at Charlestown. Great numbers of the Puritanic sect followed their brethren to

8 HISTORY OF

New-England ; so that within a few years were laid the foundations of Boston and other towns upon the Massachusetts coast.

Thus far had colonization taken place in the neighbouring country, when, in 1634, the first part of English adventurers arrived in Connecticut from England *, under the conduct of George Fenwick, Esq; and the Rev. Thomas Peters, and established themselves at the mouth of the river Connecticut, where they built a town which they called Saybrook, a church, and a fort.

In 1636 another party proceeded from Boston under the conduct of Mr. John Haynes and the Rev. Thomas Hooker ; and in June settled on the West Bank of Connecticut river, where Hartford now stands, notwithstanding the Dutch had found their way thither before them.

* Mather, Neal, Hutchinson, and other writers of New-England history, have uniformly deviated from the truth in representing Connecticut as having been first settled by emigrants from their darling Massachusetts-Bay.

A third

CONNECTICUT. 9

A third party of English settlers in Connecticut were headed by Mr. Theophilus Eaton and the Rev. John Davenport, who left England early in 1637, and, contrary to the advice of the people of the Massachusetts-Bay, who were very desirous of their settling in that province, fixed themselves, in July following, on the North side of a small bay wherein the river Quinnipiack empties itself, forty miles S. W. of Hertford, and there built the town of Newhaven.

Thus, within the space of three years, was Connecticut seized upon by three distinct English parties, in three different places, forming a triangle ;—by what authority I will now beg leave to enquire.

In favour of the first, it is alleged, that they purchased part of the lands belonging to the Lords Say and Brook, which lands included the 8th and 9th lots, and had been assigned to those Lords by the Earl of Warwick, who, about the year 1630, obtained a grant of
the

the same from the Council of Plymouth, and a patent from the King ; and that Fenwick was properly commissioned to settle and govern the colony.

Neal, Douglas, and Hutchinson, speak of this grant and assignment with the greatest confidence ; but make no reference where either may be consulted. They were very willing to believe what they said ; and wished to palm it upon the credulity of their readers as a fact too well established to need proof. I shall endeavour to shew the futility of their assertions. Indeed, Mr. Hutchinson himself inadvertently gives reason to doubt the truth of them. Writing of the transactions of 1622, " The Earl of Warwick," says he, " we are assured, had a patent for the " Massachusetts-Bay about the same time, " but the bounds are not known." It will appear presently that a part of the territory in question was, in 1635, granted to the Marquis of Hamilton. Now, taking these several items together, the Council of Plymouth

mouth are represented to have granted, not only Massachusetts-Bay in 1622, but also, in 1630, a region of vast extent, including Connecticut, to the Earl of Warwick; and then, in 1635, to have regranted the best part of the latter to the Marquis of Hamilton. There is an infeasibility in this supposition, that, without proof, will deprive it of all credit among persons who have no particular interest in the support of it.

True it is, that Fenwick and his associates were properly authorized to settle upon lands belonging to Lords Say and Brook; but that the lands they did settle upon were the property of the Earl of Warwick, is not only without proof, but against it. It seems to be generally agreed, that the Lords Say and Brook were understood to have a right to lands upon Connecticut river; but that river being 500 miles long, and running through the greatest part of New-England, the situation of their property was by no means pointed out: whether it lay at the mouth,

mouth, the middle, or northern end, was equally unascertained. The settlers, indeed, established themselves at the mouth ; but without shewing their right to the spot :—they licentiously *chose* it. There never has been produced any writing of conveyance of the land in question from the Council of Plymouth to the Earl of Warwick, or from the Earl of Warwick to the Lords Say and Brook ; and therefore their title to it must be deemed not good in law. By a letter from Lord Say to Mr Vane, in 1635, it appears, that he [Lord Say], Lord Brook, and others, had thoughts of removing to New-England, but were not determined whether to join the adventurers in Boston, or to settle a new colony.—*Hutchinsf. Hist.* Vol. I. p. 42.—If Connecticut had been assigned to Lords Say and Brook by the Earl of Warwick, as it is pretended was done in 1631, it is very strange that those Lords should have been in doubt in 1635 where to fix themselves in New-England, since
interest

interest and ambition, as well as fertility of soil, would naturally have led them to settle in Connecticut, where they had land of their own, and where a settlement was already begun, and bore a very promising appearance. Hence it seems but reasonable to suppose, that, if Lords Say and Brook were entitled to any land on Connecticut river, it could not lie within the province of Connecticut; and, if their claims were derived from the Earl of Warwick, it may fairly be concluded, that their property lay much higher up the country, since the coast appropriated to the Earl of Warwick by Purchas is that at or about Cape Ann. Lords Say and Brook, therefore, might have a right to send Fenwick, Peters, &c. to colonize upon the northern parts of Connecticut river, but not Southwardly at the mouth of it: and their neglect of the colony at Saybrook may easily be accounted for, by supposing that they were sensible the settlers had fixed upon a wrong site: an idea

cor-

corroborated by this circumstance, that Fenwick, some years after, sold his property there for a mere trifle, when he might have sold it dear, if his title had been good.

But it may be asked, Who were the real proprietors of the eighth and ninth lots?

It is asserted, that, on the Council of Plymouth's resignation of their patent to Charles I. in 1635, that Monarch granted the latter to the Earl of Stirling. Possibly there is not now existing any written testimony of this grant; yet it seems authenticated by the sale which the Earl made, in 1639, by his agent Forrest, of the Eastern part of Long Island as appertaining to his lot, to Mr. Howell. However, though his claim is not, perhaps, clearly to be established, it is by no means liable to the many objections urged against that of Lords Say and Brook, which will in a manner be annihilated by the additional argument I am now going to adduce from the *positive proof* there is to whom the eighth lot really belongs.

It

It stands authenticated in the Office of the Lords Commissioners of Colonies, that, in April, 1635, was conveyed to James, Marquis of Hamilton, by a deed from the Council of Plymouth, the territory lying between Narraganset bay and Connecticut river.—*New-Eng. Rec.* A. p. 201. —The right to the eighth lot, therefore, was clearly vested in the Marquis; and it only remains to be shewn why his descendants are not in possession of it, to remove every doubt upon the matter.

Unfortunately, in the civil broils of his time, the Marquis engaged and died fighting under royal banners, while the King's enemies took possession of his lands in Connecticut. At the Restoration of Charles II. to his Crown, Reason taught the children of loyal sufferers to expect a Restoration at least of their landed Property; and the Daughter of the Marquis of Hamilton petitioned Charles II. to grant her relief in respect to the land lying between Narraganset bay and Connecticut

necticut river ; a relief she had the more reason to hope for, as “ her Father had “ died fighting for his Father.” But Charles had been too much polished in foreign Courts to do any thing effectual for his suffering Friends. Afterwards the Earl of Arran applied to William III. for redress in regard to the same land ; but that Earl, having acted on the wrong side at the Revolution, could not but expect as little from William as the friends of Charles II. had received from *him*. However, William III. ordered the Lords Commissioners of Colonies to state his title, which they fairly did ; and the Earl was referred to try his cause in Connecticut—before the very people who *had his lands in possession*. The Governor and Company of Connecticut gave a formal answer to the claims of the Earl of Arran, setting up a title under the Earl of Warwick, as is above mentioned, who, they said, disposed of the land in dispute to Lord Say and Seal and Lord Brook,
and

and the Lords Say and Brook sold the same to Fenwick, Peters, and others. The Earl of Arran answered, that "when they produced a grant from the Plymouth Company of those lands to the Earl of Warwick, it should have an answer:" but the Colony was silent;—and King William was silent also.—*Vide Rec. New-Eng. A. p. 170-201.*

Since, then, no proof of any title derived from the Earl of Warwick could be produced by the Governor and Company of Connecticut, when the question of right to the country was fairly brought into litigation, and since there is a record of the grant of the eastern part of it to the Marquis of Hamilton, it is evident, that the claim of the present possessors under Lords Say and Brook is not valid. The record of the Marquis of Hamilton's grant is an irrefragable proof that those Lords had no right to the tract between Narraganset bay and Connecticut
C river;

river; and thence the conclusion is fair, that they had no right to the tract between Connecticut and Hudson's river: for their title to both having but one, and the same foundation, it follows of course, that what destroys it in the former, destroys it in the latter also.

However disputable the Earl of Stirling's claim to the land between Hudson and Connecticut rivers may be, the Duke of Hamilton is undoubtedly the rightful owner of that between the latter and Narraganset bay. Thus much I have proved to shew the errors of Mather, Neal, Douglas, and Hutchinson, who assert what the above Record contradicts. I differ in opinion also with Divines, who say that the World grows every year worse than it was the last. I believe the World is growing better every year; and that justice will be administered to the Duke of Hamilton, and other noble proprietors of lands in New-England, who
have

have been wickedly supplanted by the emigrations of Puritans, Republicans, Regicides, and Smugglers. The time, I hope, is hastening, when the Records I have quoted will be considered, and unjust possessors be ordered to give up their possessions to the right owners; for we have a King who honours his Crown, and prefers Justice to Policy.

Hooker and Haynes, who conducted the second of the three English parties already spoken of as making inroads into Connecticut, and who fixed their headquarters at Hertford, left Massachusetts-Bay for the same reason they had before left England—to avoid being persecuted, and to acquire the power to persecute. Hooker was learned, ambitious, and rigid. He lived near Boston two years, in hopes of becoming a greater favourite with the people than the celebrated Mr. Cotton; but finding himself rather unlikely to meet with the desired success,

he devised the project of flying into the *wildernefs* of Connecticut, to get a name. Accordingly, in 1635, he applied to the General Court for leave to remove thither, but was then refused. The next year, however, for reasons which will hereafter appear, he found the fanatics more compliant; and he and Haynes obtained permission to emigrate into Connecticut, carrying with them, as Mr. Neal expresses it, "a sort of commission from the Government of Massachusetts-Bay for the "administration of justice" there. But it cannot be supposed that Hooker and his associates could derive any title to the soil from this permission and commission granted by the Massachusetts Colony, who had not the least right to it themselves. The emigrants not only did not entertain any such idea, but, as soon as they had discovered a situation which pleased them, they even set at nought the commission they took with them, the pro-

professed object of which was to secure the authority and jurisdiction claimed by the Massachusetts over them. Knowing that they had passed the limits of that province, they voted themselves an independent people, and commenced despots, pleading the old adage, *Salus Populi suprema Lex*. It has never been suggested, I believe, that this party entered Connecticut with any other semblance of authority than this ridiculous permission and commission of the Massachusetts dictators.

As to the third party, headed by Eaton and Davenport, they took possession, as is already mentioned, without even pretending any purchase, grant, permission, or commission, from any one.

Of these three parties, then, it appears that the two last had not the least shadow of original right to the lands they possessed themselves of in Connecticut; and the claims of the first I have shewn to be ill

C 3 founded.

founded. I will now consider the right they are pretended to have acquired after possession; in regard to which they seem to have been put upon the same footing, by a general war between them and the Indians, occasioned by the ambitious, oppressive, and unjust conduct of Hooker and Davenport. This war opened a door to king-killing and king-making, violence and injustice, in America, similar to what we have of late years shuddered to hear of in India. Hence the Colonies have endeavoured to establish a title to the lands by purchase of the natives: accordingly, they have produced deeds of sale signed by Sunksquaw, Uncas, Joshua, Moodus, and others, whom Mr. Neal and Dr. Mather call Sachems, and consequently owners of the soil. Whether those gentlemen knew, or did not know, that Connecticut was owned by three Sachems only, who with their wives and families were killed by the English, and who never
would

would give a deed of any land to the Dutch or English, is not material; since it is a fact, that not one of those Indians who have signed those famous deeds, was ever a Sachem, or proprietor of a single foot of land claimed by the Colony.

It is true, that Uncas (whom Mr. Neal calls a Sachem, because the Colonists declared him King of Mohegin, to reward him for deserting Saffacus, Sachem of the Pequods) gave deeds of lands that he had no right or title to: and so did Sunk-squaw, who, after murdering his Sachem, Quinnipiog, was also declared Sachem by the English Dominion * of Newhaven. Gratitude, or pride, induced all those English-made Sachems to assign deeds to their creators.

After the death of Uncas, his eldest son Oneko became King of Mohegin, who

* *Dominion*, in New-England, signifies a sovereign, independent state, uncontrollable by any other earthly power.

refused to grant any deeds of land to the Colony; whereupon, vexed at his wisdom and honour, they declared him an incestuous son, deposed him, and proclaimed his natural brother Abimeleck to be Sachem of the Mohegins. Oneko gave a deed of all his lands to Mason and Harrison, who were his friends; as did Abimeleck, of the same lands, to the Colony who had made him Sachem. This laid a foundation for a suit at law, which was first tried before the Judges of the colony, where Mason of course lost his suit. He appealed to the King in Council, who ordered a special court to sit at Norwich, in Connecticut; and Mr. Dudley, a learned man, and Governor of Massachusetts-Bay, was the President of it. This Court met, and, having heard the evidence and pleadings of both parties, gave a verdict in favour of Mason's claim. The Colony appealed home to England, but never prosecuted their suit to an issue. Mason died,

died. The Colony kept possession under Abimeleck, their created King of Mohegin. About ten years ago, the heirs of Mason and Harrison petitioned Government to decree that Dudley's verdict should be enforced; but the Colonists found means to confound the claim of those competitors, without establishing their own. The truth is, neither the Colonists, nor Mason and Harrison, ever had any deed or title to those lands from Saffacus, or his heirs; their deeds sprung from Uncas, already mentioned, a rebel subject of Saffacus, without any royal blood in his veins:—nevertheless, Mr. Neal, and others who have written Histories of New-England, have taken especial care to vindicate the justice of the settlers, who always, as they say, conscientiously purchased their lands of Sachems.—I have given the Reader some idea of the purchases of the first colonizers in Connecticut, who, by their iniquitous

quitous art of making Sachems, have entailed law-suits without end on their posterity ; for there is not one foot of land in the whole province which is not covered by ten deeds granted by ten different nominal Sachems to ten different persons : and, what aggravates the misfortune, the Courts of justice differ every session concerning the true Sachem ; so that what the plaintiff recovers at a hearing before one jury, he loses upon a re-hearing before another.

Enough, surely, has been said to nullify the Colonists plea of having bought their lands of the Indians. As to any purchases made of the Saybrook settlers, those at Hertford totally declined them, till the farcical business respecting their charter came into agitation between the two junto's who procured it, of which I shall speak hereafter : and so far were the people of Newhaven from buying any right of Fenwick or his associates,
that

that they scorned the idea of claiming under them; nay, it was even one of their principal views in the machinations wherein they were continually employed, to reduce the Saybrook Colony under the tyranny of their own Dominion, as having no more title to the country than possession gave them. And upon any other supposition, it is impossible to account for the neglect of the colonizers of Hartford to secure their lands by such a purchase, seeming as they did to ransack heaven and earth for a title satisfactory even in their own eyes: they were conscious no purchase of that kind could give them firmer footing than they had already. The truth therefore, undoubtedly, is, that Fenwick and Peters had no legal right to sell the lands they occupied, whatever might be their pretensions;—nor, indeed, did they pretend to the power of selling more on their own account than was granted to them severally by their patrons the
Lords

Lords Say and Brook, which cannot be supposed but an inconsiderable proportion of their American property.——No wonder, then, that we find another claim set up;—a claim by conquest. This was particularly agreeable to the genius of the Hertford and Newhaven heroes; but will, nevertheless, appear to make as little for their right as their honour, from the following considerations:—First, the invaders did not find Connecticut in a state of nature, but cultivated and settled by its Indian inhabitants, whose numbers were thousands, and who had three kings, viz. Connecticote, Quinnipiog, and Sassacus, of whom Connecticote was Emperor, or King of Kings; a dignity he and his ancestors had enjoyed, according to the Indian mode of reckoning, twenty sticks*; *i. e.* time immemorial. Secondly, they had
no

* The Indian mode of counting is from One to Twenty. Every year they cut a notch in a stick;

no authority to invade, make war upon, and *conquer*, the Indians, who were not at war with the King of England, nor his patentees, or their assigns. And, Thirdly, seizures, without legal commission, of however long standing, do not convey right or title by the English law.

Feeling the weight of these considerations, the Colonists have been obliged to found their claim to the country on their charter, which was obtained in 1662, more than twenty-six years after they had taken possession. Here again, they are destitute of support; for the King, any more than his subjects, could not give to others the property of the Duke of Hamilton, unless his title had been proved to be forfeited by due

stick; and, when the stick is full, or has twenty notches on it, they lay it up, and take another. When they have thus cut twenty sticks, they reckon no more;—the number of twenty times twenty, with them, becomes infinite, or incomprehensible.

course

course of law. But the charter created no title ; it merely conferred on the people the authority of a legal corporation, without conveying any title to the lands. And, indeed, the prevarications of the Colonists themselves in regard to their charter-claim, sufficiently explode it. Whenever they find their property affected by any duty, custom, &c. imposed by Parliament, and warranted by charter, they allege that *they got the lands in possession by their own arm*, without the aid of the King and Parliament of Great-Britain; as Charles II. allowed in granting the charter, which conveyed no title, but was founded upon the title they possessed before the date of it. At other times, when these selfish temporizers find it convenient, either for promoting their own, or preventing their neighbours encroachments, then they plead their charter as the *one only thing needful* to prove their right of land even to the South Sea itself!

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In short, and upon the whole, Possession, begun in Usurpation, is the best title the inhabitants of Connecticut ever had, or can set up, unless they can prove they hold the lands by an heavenly grant, as the Israelites did those of Canaan. This heavenly title was, indeed, set up by Peters, Hooker, and Davenport, the three first ministers that settled in Connecticut; and is generally believed through the Colony to this day. They thus syllogistically stated it:—*The Heathen are driven out, and we have their lands in possession; they were numerous, and we but few; therefore the Lord hath done this great work, to give his beloved rest.*

Thus much for the various pretensions of the occupiers of Connecticut in regard to their right to the soil. I shall now give some account of the proceedings of the first settlers with respect to their religious and civil establishments; and of their political transactions, &c. &c.

The

The party which settled at Saybrook under George Fenwick, Esq. and the Rev. Thomas Peters, in 1634, contented themselves, in framing the polity of their civil constitution, with the laws of England, and a few local regulations. As to their ecclesiastical institutions, they voted themselves to be a Church independent on Lord-bishops, and Mr. Peters to be their minister, whose episcopal ordination was deemed good, notwithstanding he had been silenced in England. They voted presbyters to be bishops, and possessed of power to ordain ministers, when invited by a proper number of people formed into a society by licence from the Governor. They voted that a certain part of the Liturgy of the Church of England might be used; the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles Creed, together with one Chapter in the Bible, to be read at morning and evening service, or omitted, at the discretion of the Minister:—that
extem-

tempore prayers might be used at the pleasure of the Minister; but that the surplice should not be worn, nor should the sign of the cross at baptisms, the ceremony of the ring at marriages, or saints-days, &c. &c. be observed, as in the Church of England:—that every society licensed by the Governor, after having a Minister ordained over it, be a complete Church, and invested with the keys of discipline, dependent only upon Christ, the head of his Church:—that the Minister should be the judge of the qualifications for church-membership, and should censure disorderly walkers:—that the members in full communion should have power over the Minister, and might dismiss him from his parish, by a majority of voices, and with the consent of the Governor:—that all children were the objects of Baptism, and that none should be debarred that sacrament for the sins of their parents, provided an orderly liver

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would

would engage to bring them up in the ways of Christianity:—that all sober persons might partake of the Lord's-Supper, provided the Minister, upon examination, should find them sufficiently acquainted with their duty:—that what is commonly called Conversion, is not absolutely necessary before receiving the Lord's Supper, because that sacrament is a converting ordinance:—that all Gospel Ministers were upon an equality in office; and that it was the business of every one to admonish a transgressor, privately in the first place, and next, if no attention was paid to his advice, before his Deacons; then, if their admonition was disregarded, the offender should be presented to the Church, (that is, the Minister, Deacons, and Communicants, united by the keys of discipline,) and, upon his still continuing refractory, he should be censured and rejected by the majority of voters, without any appeal:—that Deacons should be chosen by
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the Minister and Communicants, upon a majority of voices, and ordained by the Minister, according to the holy practice of St. Paul :—that it was the duty of the Governor and civil Magistrates to protect and nurture the Church, but not to govern it; because Christ's authority given to his Church was above principalities and all civil powers :—&c. &c.

The settlers at Hertford, having declared themselves to be an independent Colony, and that their dominion extended from sea to sea, voted Haynes to be their Governor, and appointed six Counsellors to assist him in framing laws and regulating the state. The same spirit of independence dictated their church-discipline. They voted Mr. Hooker to be their Minister, and six of their church-members to ordain him. Mr. Hooker accepted of their vote or call, renounced his episcopal ordination, and was ordained by the six lay church-members over the

Church of the independents in Hertford. Thus Mr. Hooker, who was born in Leicestershire, educated in Cambridge, ordained by a Bishop, silenced by a Bishop in 1630, in England, and re-ordained by six laymen in America, became, what he wished to be, the head of the independents in the Dominion of Hertford, where he had the honour and pleasure of exercising, over all who differed from him in opinion, that violent spirit of persecution which he and his friends so clamorously decried as too intolerant to be endured in England. Some of the characteristic doctrines of this persecuting fanatic were of the following purport :--- That Christ's Church is not universal, but a particular, visible Church formed by general consent and covenant :---that Christ has committed the power of binding and loosing to believers, without any distinction between clergy and laity :--- that ruling and preaching elders are duly
ordained

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ment,

ment, both in Church and State, which they see best for themselves in the land ; but Christ gave the power of the keys to his church, *i. e.* to his believing people, and not to Peter or to Paul as ministers, but as professed believers, in conjunction with the rest of true believers ; ---that the Church hath not absolute power to chuse whom it will ; it hath ministerial power only to chuse whom Christ hath chosen, *i. e.* such as he has gifted and fitted for the work of the ministry : ---that neither Popes, Bishops, nor Presbyters, are necessary to ordain Ministers of Jesus Christ ; because the power of the keys is given by Christ to his Church, *i. e.* the people in covenant with God : ---that, as ordination is in the power of each Church, no Church hath power over another, but all stand in brotherly equality : ---that it is unlawful for any Church of Christ to put out of its hand that power which Christ has given to it, into the
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the hands of other Churches:---that no one Church ought to send to Ministers of other Churches to ordain its Ministers, or to censure its offenders:---that Baptism does not make any-one a member of Christ's church, because papists and other heretics are baptized; therefore, to be a member of Christ's Church, is to own the covenant of that particular Church where God has placed such member:---that seven persons may form a church of Christ, but 15,000 cannot, because such a number cannot meet in one place, nor hear, nor partake, nor be edified together:---that no one can partake of the Lord's-Supper, till he be converted and has manifested his faith and repentance before the Church:---&c. &c.

The laws made by the Governor and Council of Hertford are, in general, much of the same stamp with those of the Newhaven legislators, of some of which an abstract will be given hereafter.

The fanatics at Newhaven, in like manner with those of Hertford, voted themselves to be a Dominion independent, and chose Eaton for their Governor, and Davenport for their Minister. The Governor and a Committee had the power of making laws for the State, and the Minister, assisted by Deacons and Elders, was to rule the Church. The following is a specimen of the tenets established by Davenport in the latter :---That Christ has conveyed all Power to his people both in Church and State ; which Power they are to exercise until Christ shall return on Earth, to reign 1000 years over his militant Saints :---that all other Kings, besides Christ and his elected People, are pestilent usurpers and enemies to God and Man :---that all Vicars, Rectors, Deans, Priests, and Bishops, are of the Devil ; are Wolves, petty Popes, and antichristian Tyrants :---that Pastors and Teachers of particular Congregations are
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of Christ, and must be chosen by his people ; *i. e.* the elect and chosen from the foundation of the world ; or else their entrance and ministry are unlawful :--- that all things of human invention in the worship of God, such as are in the Mass-book and Common-Prayer, are unfavoury in the sight of God :---that ecclesiastical censures ought to be exercised by the Members of particular Congregations among themselves :----that the People should not suffer this supreme power to be wrested out of their hands, until Christ shall begin his reign :---that all good people ought to pray always that God would raze the old Papal foundation of episcopal government, together with the filthy ceremonies of that antichristian Church :---that every particular who neglects this duty, may justly fear that curse pronounced against Meroz,---
Judg. v. 23, Curse ye Meroz ; because they came not to help the Lord against the mighty

mighty enemies of God and his Church :— that every particular Congregation is an absolute Church ; the members of it are to be all Saints ; those must enter into covenant among themselves, and without such a covenant there can be no Church :— that it is an heinous sin to be present when prayers are read out of a book by a Vicar or Bishop :— that subjects promise obedience to obtain help from the Magistrates, and are discharged from their promise when the Magistrates fail in their duty :— that, without liberty from the Prince or Magistrate, the People may reform the Church and State, and must not wait for the Magistrates :— &c. &c. — This Dominion, this tyrant of tyrants, adopted the Bible for its code of civil laws, till others should be made more suitable to its circumstances. The provision was politic. The lawgivers soon discovered that the precepts in the Old and New Testaments were insufficient to support
support

support them in their arbitrary and bloody undertakings: they, therefore, gave themselves up to *their own inventions* in making others, wherein, in some instances, they betrayed such an extreme degree of wanton cruelty and oppression, that even the rigid fanatics of Boston, and the mad zealots of Hertford, put to the blush, christened them the *Blue Laws*; and the former held a day of thanksgiving, because God, in his good providence, had stationed Eaton and Davenport so far from them.

The religious system established by Peters at Saybrook was well calculated to please the moderate Puritans and zealots of all denominations; but the fanatics of the Massachusetts-Bay, who hated every part of the Common-Prayer-book worse than the Council of Trent and the papal power exercised over heretics, were alarmed at the conduct of the half-reformed schismatics in that colony; and, thinking
that

that their dear *Salem* might be endangered by such impure worshipers, consented, in the year 1636, to give Mr. Hooker and his associates liberty to emigrate to Hertford, notwithstanding the preceding year they had refused such liberty, seeing then no reason for Hooker's seizing the territory of other people. But when the New-England Vine was supposed to be threatened by the Bible, Lord's-Prayer, and Ten Commandments, the pious people of Massachusetts-Bay permitted Hooker, in 1636, to remove into and govern Connecticut by their authority, and to impede and break up the worship of the *Peterites* in Saybrook. Hooker was faithful to his trust, excepting that, when he got to Hertford, he rejected the authority of his employers in the Massachusetts-Bay, set up a new dominion, and persecuted the *Peterites* under his own banner, though he called it the banner of Jesus.—But for his and Davenport's tyrannical conduct, the

the Colony at Saybrook would have lived in peace with the Indians, as they did till their artful and overbearing neighbours brought on a general war between them and the English, which ended with the death of Sassacus and the destruction of all his subjects. After that war, great dissention arose among the conquerors. Fenwick was sensible, of a calm disposition, and very religious; yet not entirely void of ambition. He claimed the government of all Connecticut, and insisted upon payment for such lands as were possessed by Hooker and Davenport, and their associates: this, he said, was but common justice due to his constituents, the Lords Say and Brook. Hooker and Davenport, however, were not fond of his doctrine of *justice*, but made *religion*, *liberty*, and *power*, the greater objects of their concern; wherein they were supported by the people of Massachusetts-Bay, whose spirits were congenial with their

their own. Hence no opportunity was lost of prejudicing Saybrook ; and the troubles in the Mother-Country furnished their enemies with many. One step they took, in particular, operated much to its disadvantage. The Massachusetts Colony, eager to act against Charles I. agreed with those of Hertford and Newhaven, New-hampshire, and Rhode-Island, to send agents to England, assuring the House of Commons of their readiness to assist against the King and Bishops. The Saybrook settlers, though zealous against the Bishops, were not much inclined to rebellion against their King, and therefore took no part in this transaction. As the royal cause lost ground in England, the apprehensions of this Colony increased ; and Fenwick, finding himself unsupported by the Lords Say and Brook, thought it prudent to dispose of his colonial property to Peters and his associates, and return to England. Confusion being established

blished in England, moderation became an unpardonable sin in Saybrook, which both the neighbouring Colonies were ready to punish by assuming the jurisdiction there: mutual jealousy alone prevented it.

At length, during Cromwell's usurpation, the inhabitants, fearing the effects of his displeasure for not joining in the above-mentioned address to the Commons in

England, and especially lest he should put them under the power of the furious Davenport, and at the same time foreseeing no prospect of the Restoration, judged it adviseable, by way of preferring the lesser to the greater evil, to form a sort of alliance and junction with the people of Hertford, where Hooker now lay numbered with the dead. The Colony was not only hereby enabled to maintain its ground, but flourished greatly; and the Minister, Thomas Peters, established a school in Saybrook, which his children had the satisfaction to see become a
College,

College, denominated Yale College, of which a particular account will be given in the course of this work. He was a churchman of the puritanic order, zealous, learned, and of a mild disposition; and frequently wrote to his brother Hugh at Salem *, to exercise more moderation, lest "overmuch zeal should ruin him" "and the cause they were embarked in."

At

* William, Thomas, and Hugh Peters, were brothers, and born at Fowey, in Cornwall, in Old England. Their Father was a merchant of great property; and their Mother was Elizabeth Treffry, Daughter of John Treffry, Esq. of a very ancient and opulent family in Fowey.---William was educated at Leyden, Thomas at Oxford, and Hugh at Cambridge universities.---About the years 1610 and 1620, Thomas and Hugh were clergymen in London, and William was a private gentleman.---About 1628, Thomas and Hugh, rendered obnoxious by their popularity and puritanism, were silenced by the Bishop of London.---They then went to Holland, and remained there till 1633, when they returned to London.---The three brothers sold their landed property, and went to New-England in 1634.---

Hugh

At his death, which did not happen till after the Restoration of Charles II. he bequeathed his library to the school above mentioned.

The

Hugh settled at Salem, and became too popular for Mather and Cotton. He was soon appointed one of the Trustees of the College at New-Cambridge.---He built a grand house, and purchased a large tract of land.---The yard before his house he paved with flint-stones from England; and, having dug a well, he paved that round with flint-stones also, for the accommodation of every inhabitant in want of water. It bears the name of Peters's Spring to this day.---He married a second wife, by whom he had one daughter named Elizabeth. The renown of this zealot increasing, he received an invitation to remove from Salem to Boston, and, complying with it, he there laid the foundation-stone of the great Meeting-House, of which the Rev. Dr. Samuel Cooper, one of the most learned of the Literati in America, is the present minister. Mather and Cotton ill brooked being out-rivalled by Hugh; yet, finding him an orthodox fanatic, and more perfect than themselves, they seemingly bowed to his superiority, at the same time that they laid a snare for his destruction. In 1641 those envious pastors conspired with the Court at Boston to convert their Bishop Hugh into a

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Politician,

The religious institutions of Hooker at Hertford were not only binding on the Dutch, but even extended to the great Connecticut himself. The Sachem did
not

Politician, and appoint him agent to Great Britain.---The Plot succeeded; and Hugh assumed his agency under colour of petitioning for some abatement of customs and excise; but his real commission was to foment the civil discontents, jars, and wars, then prevailing between the King and Parliament.---Hugh did not see into the policy of Mather and Cotton; and he had a strong inclination to chastise the Bishops and Court, who had turned him out of the Church for his fanatical conduct. On his arrival in London, the Parliament took him into their service.---The Earls of Warwick and Essex were also his patrons.---In 1644, the Parliament gave him Archbishop Laud's library; and soon after made him Head of the Archbishop's Court, and gave him his estate and palace at Lambeth :---all which Hugh kept till the Restoration, when he paid for his zeal, his puritanism, and rebellion, on a gibbet at Charing-Cross.---His daughter married a merchant in Newport, Rhode-Island, and lived and died with an excellent character.---Her Father having met with so tragical an end, I omit to mention her
Husband's

not like his new neighbours ; he refused to give or sell any land to them ; but told them, that, as they came to trade, and to spread the Christian Religion among

Husband's name, whose Posterity live in good reputation.—Governor Hutchinson reports, that the widow of Hugh Peters was supported, till 1671, by a collection at Salem, of 30l. per ann. Were this report true, it would be much to the reputation of Salem for having *once* relieved the unfortunate. Mr. Hutchinson might have pointed out the cause of the unhappy widow's necessity ; but he has left that part to me, and here it follows :---After Hugh's Death, the selectmen of Salem were afraid that the King [Charles II.] would seize on his estate in Salem, as had been the case in regard to what the Parliament had given him in England. They therefore trumped up a debt, and seized and sold the said estate to the families of Lyndes and Curwin, who possess it to the present time ;---and the selectmen of Salem allowed the widow 30l. per ann. for the wrong they had done her and her daughter. It is not likely that the widow was supported by any charitable collection ; for William Peters was a man of great property, and had a deed of the whole peninsula whereon Boston stands, which he purchased of Mr. Blaxton, who

among his subjects, which Mr. Hooker defined to consist only in peace, love, and justice, he had no objection to their building wigwams, planting corn, and hunting

bought it of the Plymouth Company ; though Mr. Hutchinson says Blaxton's title arose merely from his sleeping on it the first of any Englishman†.---This was well said by Mr. Hutchinson, who wanted to justify the people of Salem in seizing the land and expelling Mr. Blaxton from his settlement in 1630, because he said he liked Lords-Brethren less than Lords-Bishops.---Moreover, Thomas Peters, at the same time, was living at Saybrook, and was not poor.---Those two Gentlemen were able and willing to support the widow of an unfortunate brother whom they loved very tenderly.---They took great care of his daughter, and left her handsome legacies.---From these considerations, I am induced to believe, that the widow of Hugh Peters never subsisted

† The Rev. Mr. Blaxton had lived on Shawmut, or the peninsula on which Boston is built, above nine years before June, 1630, when he was driven away from his possessions by the pious people of Salem, because he was not pleased with the religious system of those new-comers.---They were so generous as to vote a small lot to Mr. Blaxton, near Boston-Neck, as a compensation for the whole peninsula, and for his banishment on pain of death not to return.---Blaxton afterwards sold his right to William Peters, Esq. but who was kept out of possession of it by the supreme power of the People.---

ing on his lands. The wisdom and steady temper of this great Sachem, and the vast number of subjects at his command, made Haynes and Hooker cautious in

subsisted on any contributions, except what she received from her brothers William and Thomas Peters.—Mr. Hutchinson makes a curious remark, viz. If Hugh Peters had returned to his parish, he would not have suffered as he did.—He might have said, with greater propriety, that, if Hugh Peters had not been a fanatic and a rebel more zealous than wise, he never would have left his Parish for the agency of the people of New-England, who never paid him the stipulated allowance for his support in England, tho' he gave them thanksgiving-days, instead of fasting, for the space of twenty years, and procured, in 1649, from Oliver Cromwell, a charter for the Company for propagating the Gospel in New-England, which, by contributions raised in England, have supported all the missionaries among the Indians to the present time;—yet Mr. Hutchinson and Neal write largely about the vast expence the Massachusetts-Bay have been at in spreading the Gospel among the poor savages!

I cannot forbear here to notice an abuse of this charter. Notwithstanding it confines the

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in their conduct. Many people of Massachusetts-Bay, hearing that Hooker had made good terms with the Sachem, left their persecutors, and fled to the fertile banks

views of the Company to New-England, yet they, and their Committee of Correspondence in Boston, have of late years vouchsafed to send most of their Missionaries out of New-England, among the Six Nations, and the unsanctified episcopalians in the Southern Colonies, where was a competent number of church clergymen. Whenever this work of supererogation has met with its deserved animadversion, their answer has been, that, though Cromwell limited them to New-England, yet Christ had extended their bounds from sea to sea! With what little reason do they complain of King William's charter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts? This Society have sent Missionaries to New-England, where they have an undoubted right to send them, to supply episcopal Churches already established there; whereas the other Society send Missionaries beyond the limits of their charter, to alienate the minds of the episcopal Indians of the Six Nations, against the episcopal Missionaries and the Government of the Mother-Country.---And they have been too successful; especially since the Rev. Dr. Eleazer Wheelock,

banks of Connecticut, that they might help Hooker spread the Gospel among the poor benighted Heathen in the wilderness. The Reverend Mr. Huet, with his disciples, fixed at Windsor, eight miles north of Hertford; and the Reverend Mr. Smith, at Weathersfield, four miles south of it. In the space of eighteen months, the Dominion of Hertford contained seven-hundred white people, and seven independent churches. Having converted over to the Christian faith some few Indians, among whom was Joshua, an ambitious captain under the great Sachem Connecticut, Hooker,

Wheelock, Dr. Whitaker, and the Rev. Mr. Sampson Oocom, by the Charity of England, have joined in the same work.---To the General Assembly, and the Confociation of Connecticut, Dr. Wheelock and his associates are much beholden for their success in converting the poor benighted savages in the howling wilderness. Their merits are great, and their reward is pending.

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Huet,

Huet, Smith, and others, hereby found means to spread the *Gospel* into every Indian town, and, to the eternal infamy of christian policy, those renowned, pious fathers of this new colony, with the Gospel, spread the small-pox. This distemper raged in every corner : it swept away the great Sachem Connecticut, and laid waste his ancient kingdom. Hereupon, Haynes and his assembly proclaimed Joshua Sachem ; and such as did not acknowledge his sachemic power, were compelled to suffer death, or fly the Dominion. Thus in three years time, by the Gospel and fanatic policy, was destroyed Connecticut, the greatest king in North-America. This remarkable event was considered as the work of the Lord ; and the savage nations were told that the like calamities would befall them, unless they embraced the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Joshua was grateful to the English who had made him Sachem, and gave them
deeds

deeds of those lands which had constantly been refused by Connecticut. But Joshua had as little honour as virtue and loyalty : he supported himself many years by signing deeds, and gulled the English through their own imprudence in neglecting to make a law for recording them. —These colonists, having driven out the Heathen, and got possession of a land which flowed with milk and honey, expelled the Dutch, as a dangerous set of heretics ;—and Hooker, after doing so much for this new Dominion, expected the homage from every Church which is only due to a Bishop. This homage, however, he could not obtain, because each Minister had pretensions not much inferior to his. Disputes arose about Doctrine and Discipline. Hooker taught that there were forty-two kinds of Grace, though all of little value, except that of “saving Grace.” As to Discipline, he held, that, as he had received his ministerial

sterial ordination from the Laity who were members in full communion, he considered those actual communicants as *Christ's Church here on earth*, and consequently as holding the keys of discipline; and he maintained, that the Minister had but a single voice, and was a subject of the Church. Other Ministers, who had received episcopal ordination, but had been silenced by their Bishops, judged themselves, notwithstanding, to be Ministers of Christ; and alleged that the installation of a Minister by prayer and imposition of hands of lay communicants, was no ordination, but a ceremony only of putting a Minister in possession of his Church, from which he might be dismissed by a majority of voters of the Members in full communion. And those Ministers taught for doctrine, that mankind were saved by Grace, and that the Gospel told us of but one Grace as necessary to Salvation; for that *he who believes that Jesus is the Son of*
of

of God, is born of God, and enjoys the Grace of God which brings Salvation. The majority of the People of course were on the side of Mr. Hooker, as his plan established their power over the Minister; and they soon determined by vote, according to their code of laws, in his favour. But the Ministers and minority were not convinced by this vote, and, to avoid an excommunication, formed themselves into separate bodies; nevertheless, they soon felt the thundering anathemas of Hooker, and the heated vengeance of the civil power. However, persecution, by her certain consequence, fixed the separatists in their schism, which continues to the present time.—Hooker reigned twelve years high-priest over Hertford; and then died above sixty years of age, to the great joy of the separatists, but, in point of populousness, to the disadvantage of the colony of Saybrook, which was the little Zoar for Hooker's heretics.

Exact

Exact in tything mint and anise, the furies of Newhaven for once affected the *weightier matters* of justice. They had no title to the land: they applied to Quinnipiog, the Sachem, for a deed or grant of it. The Sachem refused to give the lands of his ancestors to strangers. The settlers had teeming inventions, and immediately voted themselves to be the *Children of God*, and that *the wilderness in the utmost parts of the earth* was given to them. This vote became a law forever after. It is true, Davenport endeavoured to *christianize* Quinnipiog, but in vain: however, he *converted* Sunksquaw, one of his subjects, by presents and great promises; and then Sunksquaw betrayed his master, and the settlers killed him. This assassination of Quinnipiog brought on a war between the English and Indians, which never ended by treaty of peace. The Indians, having only bows and arrows, were driven back into the woods; whilst the
English

English, with their swords and guns, kept possession of the country. But, conscious of their want of title to it, they voted Sunksquaw to be Sachem, and that whoever disputed his authority should suffer death. Sunksquaw, in return, assigned to the English those lands of which they had made him Sachem. Lo ! here is all the title the settlers of the Dominion of Newhaven ever obtained.—The cruel and bloody persecutions under Eaton and Davenport in Newhaven soon gave rise to several little towns upon the sea-coast. Emigrants from England arrived every year to settle in this Dominion; but few remained in Newhaven, on account of Eaton, Davenport, the Deacons, and Elders, who possessed all power there, and were determined to keep it. The new-comers, therefore, under pretence of spreading Christ's kingdom, and shunning persecution, joined with the settlers at Stamford, Guilford, and Stratford, where, however, persecution

persecution domineered with as much fury as at Newhaven; for each town judged itself to be an independent Dominion; though, for fear of the Dutch and the Indians, they formed a political union, and swore to bear true allegiance to the capital Newhaven, whose authority was supreme. As all officers in every town were annually elected by the freemen, and as there were many candidates, some of whom must be unsuccessful, there was always room for complaints. The complainants formed schisms in the Church, which brought on persecution; and persecution drove the minority to settle new towns, in order to enjoy Liberty, Peace, and Power to persecute such as differed from them. Thus lived those ambitious people, under far worse persecutions from one another than they ever experienced or complained of in Old England; all which they endured with some degree of patience, the persecuted one
year

year living in hopes that the next would enable them to retaliate on their persecutors.

The laws made by this independent Dominion, and denominated *Blue-Laws* by the neighbouring Colonies, were never suffered to be printed ; but the following sketch of some of them will give a tolerable idea of the spirit which pervades the whole.

“ The Governor and Magistrates, convened in general Assembly, are the supreme power under God of this independent Dominion,

From the determination of the Assembly no appeal shall be made.

The Governor is amenable to the voice of the people.

The Governor shall have only a single vote in determining any question ; except a casting vote, when the Assembly may be equally divided.

The Assembly of the People shall not
be

be dismissed by the Governor, but shall dismiss itself.

Conspiracy against this Dominion shall be punished with death.

Whoever says there is a power and jurisdiction above and over this Dominion, shall suffer death and loss of property.

Whoever attempts to change or overturn this Dominion shall suffer death.

The judges shall determine controversies without a jury.

No one shall be a freeman, or give a vote, unless he be converted, and a member in full communion of one of the Churches allowed in this Dominion.

No man shall hold any office, who is not found in the faith, and faithful to this Dominion; and whoever gives a vote to such a person, shall pay a fine of 11. for a second offence, he shall be disfranchised.

Each freeman shall swear by the blessed God to bear true allegiance to this Dominion,

Dominion, and that Jesus is the only King.

No quaker or dissenter from the established worship of this Dominion shall be allowed to give a vote for the election of Magistrates, or any officer.

No food or lodging shall be afforded to a Quaker, Adamite, or other Heretic.

If any person turns Quaker, he shall be banished, and not suffered to return but upon pain of death.

No Priest shall abide in the Dominion : he shall be banished, and suffer death on his return. Priests may be seized by any one without a warrant.

No one to cross a river, but with an authorized ferryman.

No one shall run on the Sabbath-day, or walk in his garden or elsewhere, except reverently to and from meeting.

No one shall travel, cook victuals, make beds, sweep house, cut hair, or shave, on the Sabbath-day.

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No

No woman shall kiss her child on the Sabbath or fasting-day.

The Sabbath shall begin at sunset on Saturday.

To pick an ear of corn growing in a neighbour's garden, shall be deemed theft.

A person accused of trespass in the night shall be judged guilty, unless he clear himself by his oath.

When it appears that an accused has confederates, and he refuses to discover them, he may be racked.

No one shall buy or sell lands without permission of the selectmen.

A drunkard shall have a master appointed by the selectmen, who are to debar him from the liberty of buying and selling.

Whoever publishes a lye to the prejudice of his neighbour, shall sit in the stocks, or be whipped fifteen stripes.

No Minister shall keep a school.

Every

Every rateable person, who refuses to pay his proportion to the support of the Minister of the town or parish, shall be fined by the Court 2*l.* and 4*l.* every quarter, until he or she pay the rate to the Minister.

Men-stealers shall suffer death.

Whoever wears cloaths trimmed with gold, silver, or bone lace, above two shillings by the yard, shall be presented by the grand jurors, and the selectmen shall tax the offender at 300*l.* estate.

A debtor in prison, swearing he has no estate, shall be let out, and sold, to make satisfaction.

Whoever sets a fire in the woods, and it burns a house, shall suffer death ; and persons suspected of this crime shall be imprisoned, without benefit of bail.

Whoever brings cards or dice into this Dominion shall pay a fine of 5*l.*

No one shall read Common-Prayer, keep Christmas or Saints-days, make

minced pies, dance, play cards, or play on any instrument of music, except the drum, trumpet, and jews-harp.

No Gospel Minister shall join people in marriage; the Magistrates only shall join in marriage, as they may do it with less scandal to Christ's Church †.

When parents refuse their children convenient marriages, the Magistrates shall determine the point.

The selectmen, on finding children ignorant, may take them away from their parents, and put them into better hands, at the expence of their parents.

Fornication shall be punished by compelling marriage, or as the Court may think proper.

Adultery shall be punished with death.

A man that strikes his wife shall pay a fine of 10*l*. a woman that strikes her

† The Savage Pawawwers, or Priests, never concern themselves with marriages, but leave them to the Parishes, or Magistrates.

husband

husband shall be punished as the Court directs.

A wife shall be deemed good evidence against her husband.

No man shall court a maid in person, or by letter, without first obtaining consent of her parents: 5*l.* penalty for the first offence; 10*l.* for the second; and, for the third, imprisonment during the pleasure of the Court.

Married persons must live together, or be imprisoned.

Every male shall have his hair cut round according to a cap*."

Of such sort were the laws made by the people of Newhaven, previous to their incorporation with Saybrook and Hertford colonies by the charter. They consist of a vast multitude, and were very properly termed *Blue Laws*; i. e. *bloody*

* The Levitical law forbids cutting the hair, or rounding the head.

Laws; for they were all sanctified with excommunication, confiscation, fines, banishment, whippings, cutting off the ears, burning the tongue, and death. Europe at this day might well say the Religion of the first settlers at Newhaven was fanaticism turned mad; and did not similar laws still prevail over New-England as the common law of the country, I would have left them in silence along with Dr. Mather's *Patres conscripti*, and the renowned Saints of Mr. Neal, to sleep to the end of time. No one, but a partial and blind bigot, can pretend to say the projectors of them were men of *Grace, Justice, and Liberty*, when nothing but *murders, plunders, and persecutions*, mark their steps. The best apology that can be made for them is, (I write in reference to those times,) that human nature is every-where the same; and that the mitred Lord and canting Puritan are equally dangerous, or that both agree in
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the unchristian doctrine of persecution, and contend only which shall put it in practice. Mr. Neal says many call the first Colonizers in New-England weak men for separating from the Church of England, and suffering persecutions, rather than comply with indifferent ceremonies ; and, after asserting that they were men of great learning and goodness, he appeals to the world to judge, which were weak, the Bishops or the Puritans? My answer is, that those Puritans were weak men in Old England, and strong in New England, where they out-pop'd the Pope, out-king'd the King, and out-bishop'd the Bishops. Their murders and persecutions prove their strength lay in weakness, and their religion in ambition, wealth, and dominion.

Notwithstanding the perpetual jealousy and discordance between the three colonies of Connecticut, (Saybrook claiming the whole under the Lords Say and Brook,

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Hertford

Hertford under Jehovah and Conquest, and Newhaven under King Jesus and Conquest,) they judged it necessary, for their better security against the Dutch and Indians, to strengthen each other's hands by forming a general confederacy with the Colonies of New Plymouth and the Massachusetts-Bay. A measure of this kind, which they formally entered into in 1643, proved of the most salutary consequence, in a war which many years after broke out between them and Philip, sachem of the Pokanoket Indians, and which, for some time, imminently endangered the Colonies, but at length terminated in the destruction of that noted warrior and his followers.

The death of Cromwell in 1658 struck an awe throughout all New-England. Hertford and Newhaven appointed their days of fasting and prayer. Davenport prayed "the Lord to take the New-England Vine under his immediate care,
" as

“ as he had removed by death the great
 “ Protector of the protestant liberty:”
 nevertheless he lived to see the time
 when Charles II. obtained the possession
 of his Father's crown and kingdom,
 in spite of all his prayers. However, in
 the midst of sorrows, they were comforted
 by the presence of many regicides
 and refugees, who fled from England not
 so much for religion as for liberty ; among
 whom were Whaley, Goffe, and Dixwell*,
 three of the judges and murderers of
 Charles I. Davenport and Leet the then
 Governor received them as Angels from
 Heaven, and blessed God that they had
 escaped out of the hands of “ Herod the
 “ son of Barabbas.”

Newhaven Dominion being thus suddenly
 filled with inhabitants, saw itself

* *Dixwell* died and lies buried in Newhaven.
 His grave is visited by the *sober dissenters* with great
 reverence and veneration ; nay, even held sacred as
 the tomb at Mecca. Here are buried also the children
 of Colonel Jones, and many other rebels.

enabled

enabled to support its independence, and as usual despised Hertford and Saybrook, and withal paid no attention to the King and Parliament of England.—The People of Massachusetts, who were ever forward in promoting their own consequence, observing the temper and conduct of those of Newhaven, conceived an idea at once of exalting an individual of their own Province, and of attaching Hertford and Saybrook to their interest for ever. They sent Mr. John Winthrop privately to Hertford, to promote a petition to Charles II. for a charter, as a security against the ambition of Newhaven.—The Bostonians boasted of having had the honour of settling Hertford, which they therefore professed to consider in the light of a near and dear connection. The proposal was accepted by the few persons to whom it was communicated, but, in framing their petition, they found themselves deficient in their title to the lands. This obliged

obliged them to have recourse to a Junto at Saybrook, who claimed a title under Lords Say and Brook. — A few purchases, or rather exchanges, of land now took place between the Junto's; after which a petition was drawn up, containing an artful description of the lands claimed, "part of which they said they had purchased, and part they had conquered." They then as privately appointed Mr. Winthrop their agent to negotiate the business in England, which he very willingly undertook. On his arrival here, he applied to the agents of Massachusetts-Bay, and with their assistance procured from the incaution of Charles II. as ample a charter as was ever given to a palatinate state; it covered not only Saybrook, Hertford, and Newhaven, but half New-York, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and a tract of land near 100 miles wide, and extending westward to the South sea, 1400 miles from Narraganset bay.

bay. This Charter, which was obtained in 1662, well pleased the people of Hertford, because it coincided with their former vote, viz. "that their dominion extended from sea to sea." Newhaven too late discovered the intrigues of her artful neighbours; and, after two years opposition, submitted to the charter purely out of fear lest some of her ministers and magistrates should suffer ignominious deaths for aiding in the murder of their King.

To the great joy of the People of Boston and Saybrook, Mr. Winthrop was appointed, by the Charter, Governor of all Connecticut. Their joy, however, sprung from different motives: Saybrook hoped for effectual protection from the insults of Hertford and the persecutions of Newhaven; and Boston expected to govern the Governor.

Mr. Winthrop settled at New-London, in the kingdom of Saffacus, or colony
of

of Saybrook, where he purchased lands of the claimants under Lords Say and Brook. Wisdom and moderation guided Mr. Winthrop. He was annually elected Governor till his death, which happened in 1676.

Whether it were owing to the discovery of any defect in the title of the People of Connecticut to the soil, or of any undue arts practised in obtaining their charter, or whether it must be considered as an instance of Charles's fickle or arbitrary disposition, that Monarch, in the short space of two years after granting that charter, comprized half Connecticut in another grant to his brother the Duke of York of the territory between the rivers Connecticut and Delaware, called by the Dutch New Netherlands. This step excited much discontent in Connecticut, especially when an actual defalcation of its territory was discovered to be in agitation, after Colonel Nichols had

had succeeded in an enterprize he was sent upon against the Dutch at New-York. Commissioners were sent thither from Connecticut, the latter end of 1664, to defend the interests of the Colony ; but, notwithstanding all the opposition they could make, they were constrained to yield up the whole of Long-Island, and a strip of land on the east side of Hudson's river. This dismemberment is not easily to be justified ; but, probably, finding it necessary to the performance of a promise he had made the Dutch of the enjoyment of their possessions, Nichols might think himself at liberty of insisting upon it, furnished as he was with almost regal powers as the Duke of York's deputy. In that capacity, he assumed the government of the conquered territory, but does not appear to have intermeddled further with that of Connecticut.

With Colonel Nichols were associated three other gentlemen, in a commission,
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empowering them to enquire into the state of the New-England provinces, to hear and redress complaints, settle differences, and check abuses of power : but the ill humour and obstinacy of those of Connecticut and Massachusetts-Bay, in a great measure frustrated their endeavours.

By authority of the Charter, the free-men chuse annually, in May, a Governor, a Deputy-Governor, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and 12 Assistants, and, twice a year, two Representatives from each town. These, being met, constitute the General Assembly, which has power to make laws, provided they are not repugnant to the laws of England, and enforce them without the consent of the King.

The General Assembly meets in May and October without summoning. By it the colony has been divided into six counties, viz. Hertford, Newhaven, New-London, Fairfield, Windham, and Litchfield ;

field ; and these subdivided into 73 townships, and 300 parishes

Each town has two or more justices of peace, who hear and determine, without a jury, all causes under 2/.

Each county has five judges, who try by a jury all causes above 2/.

Five judges preside over the superior court of the province, who hold two sessions in each county every year. To this court are brought appeals from the county courts when the verdict exceeds 10/. appeals from the courts of probate, writs of error, petitions for divorce, &c.

The General Assembly is a court of chancery, where the error or rigour of the judgments of the superior court are corrected.

The General Assembly, and not the Governor, has the power of life and death.

The courts of probate are managed by a justice of peace appointed by the General Assembly.

Each

Each county has its Sheriff, and each town its constables.

By charter the Governor is Captain-general of the militia. Fourteen Colonels, 14 Lieutenant-Colonels, and 14 Majors, are appointed by the General Assembly. The Captains and Subalterns are elected by the People, and commissioned by the Governor.

The ecclesiastical courts in Connecticut are, 1. The Minister and his Communicants: 2. The Association, which is composed of every minister and deacon in the county: 3. The Consociation, which consists of four ministers and their deacons, chosen from each Association; and always meets in May, at Hartford, with the General Assembly. An appeal from the Consociation will lie before the General Assembly; but the clergy have always been against it, though with less success than they wished.—The General Assembly declared “Sober Dissenters”

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to

to be the established religion of the province.

The laws of the colony enacted by the authority of the Charter, are decent in comparison with the Blue Laws. They make one thin volume in folio. Yet exceptions may justly be made to many of them—equal liberty is not given to all parties—taxes are unfairly laid—the poor are oppressed.—One law is intolerable, viz. When a trespass is committed in the night, the injured person may recover damages of any-one he shall think proper to accuse, unless the accused can prove an alibi, or will clear himself by an oath; which oath, nevertheless, it is at the option of the justice either to administer or refuse. Queen Ann repealed the cruel laws respecting Quakers, Ranters, and Adamites; but the General Assembly, notwithstanding, continued the same in their law-book, maintaining that a law made in Connecticut could not be repealed

pealed by any authority but their own. It is a ruled case with them, that no law or statute of England be in force in Connecticut, till formally passed by the General Assembly, and recorded by the Secretary. Above 30 years ago, a negro castrated his master's son, and was brought to trial for it before the Superior Court at Hertford. The Court could find no law to punish the negro. The lawyers quoted the English statute against maiming; the Court were of opinion that statute did not reach this colony, because it had not been passed in the General Assembly; and therefore were about to remand the negro to prison till the General Assembly should meet. But, an *ex-post-facto* law was objected to as an infringement upon civil liberty. At length, however, the Court were released from their difficulty, by having recourse to the vote of the first settlers at Newhaven, viz. That the Bible should be their law, till they could

make others more suitable to their circumstances. The court were of opinion that vote was in full force, as it had not been revoked; and thereupon tried the negro upon the Jewish law, viz. Eye for Eye, and Tooth for Tooth. He suffered accordingly.

The idea fostered by the colony of independence on Great Britain, was not, as might be imagined, destroyed by the royal charter, but, on the contrary, was renewed and invigorated by it. Indeed, the charter is as much in favour of Connecticut, and unfavourable to England, as if it had been drawn up in Boston or Newhaven. Had it been granted jointly by the King, Lords, and Commons, and not by the King *solus*, no one could dispute the independence of Connecticut on England, any more than they could that of Holland on Spain. The people at large did not discriminate between an act of the King *solus*, and an act of the King, Lords,

Lords, and Commons, conjointly; and, to prevent any one from shewing the difference, the General Assembly made a law, that "whoever should attempt to destroy the constitution of this Colony as by charter established, should suffer death." The power of a British King was held up by them much higher than the constitution allowed. The King had authority, they said, to form palatinate states without consent of Parliament, Accustomed to doctrines of this tendency, the multitude concluded the General Assembly of Connecticut to be equal to the British Parliament.

Notions of this kind did not prevail in Connecticut alone; Massachusetts-Bay still more abounded with them, and Rhode Island was not uninfected. What was the consequence? Complaints against those governments poured into the British court. A reformation, therefore, became indispensable in New-England, and

was begun by a disfranchisement of the Massachusetts province. The death of Charles II. put a temporary stop to proceedings against the other colonies; but James II. soon found it expedient to renew them. In July, 1685, the following instances of mal-administration were formally exhibited against the Governor and Company of Connecticut, viz. "They
" have made laws contrary to the laws
" of England:—they impose fines upon
" the inhabitants, and convert them to
" their own use:—they enforce an oath of
" fidelity upon the inhabitants without
" administering the oath of supremacy and
" allegiance, as in their charter is directed;
" they deny to the inhabitants the exercise of the religion of the church of
" England, arbitrarily fining those who
" refuse to come to their congregational
" Assemblies:—his Majesty's subjects inhabiting there, cannot obtain justice in
" the courts of that colony:—they discourage
" courage

" courage and exclude the government
 " all gentlemen of known loyalty, and
 " keep it in the hands of the independent
 " party in the colony." (*New-Eng. Ent.*
vol. ii. p. 241.) In consequence of this
 impeachment, James II. ordered a *Quo*
Warranto to be issued against the Char-
 ter of Connecticut. The People per-
 ceived the King was in earnest; and
 their alarm manifested itself in humble
 solicitations for favour: but, it being
 thought adviseable, on several accounts,
 particularly the extensive progress the
 French were making in Canada, to ap-
 point one general Governor over New-
 England, the submissive applications of
 the Connecticut colonists could no fur-
 ther be regarded than in allowing them
 their choice, whether to be annexed to
 New-York, or the Massachusetts. They
 preferred the latter; and, accordingly, Sir
 Edmund Andros having been appointed
 Captain-general over all New-England,

the charter of Connecticut was surrendered to him. It is very remarkable, that Mr. Neal, Hutchinson, and other historians of New-England, have artfully passed over in silence this transaction of the surrender of Connecticut Charter to Sir Edmund Andros, the General Governor over New-England. They have represented the magistrates of Connecticut as not having resigned their charter, but by an erroneous construction put on their humble supplication to James II. by the Court of London ; whereas the fact is, they resigned it, *in propria forma*, into the hands of Sir Edmund Andros, at Hertford, in October, 1687, and were annexed to the Massachusetts-Bay colony, in preference to New-York, according to royal promise and their own petition. But the very night of the surrender of it, Samuel Wadsworth, of Hertford, with the assistance of a mob, violently broke into the apartments of Sir Edmund, regained,

gained, carried off, and hid the charter in the hollow of an elm; and, in 1689, news arriving of an insurrection and overthrow of Andros at Boston, Robert Treat, who had been elected in 1687, was declared by the mob still to be Governor of Connecticut. He daringly summoned his old Assembly, who, being convened, voted the charter to be valid in law, and that it could not be vacated by any power, without the consent of the General-Assembly. They then voted, that Samuel Wadsworth should bring forth the charter; which he did in a solemn procession, attended by the High-sheriff, and delivered it to the Governor. The General Assembly voted their thanks to Wadsworth, and twenty shillings as a reward for *stealing* and hiding their charter in the elm. Thus Connecticut started from a dependent county into an independent province, in defiance of the authority that had lately been paid such humble
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submission. None should be surprized to find the People shewing more deference to Abimeleck King of Mohegin, than to George King of England ; since a vote of men, whose legislative and even corporate capacity had been annihilated, has prevailed, for more than eighty years, over a just exertion of royal prerogative. Nevertheless, this unconstitutional Assembly, whose authority under an assumed charter has been tacitly acknowledged by the British Parliament, have not at all times been unchecked by the Corporation of Yale College. That College, by a charter received from this self-erected Government, was enabled to give Bachelors and Masters degrees ; but the Corporation have presumed to give Doctors degrees. When the General Assembly accused them of usurping a privilege not conferred by their charter, they retorted, that “ to usurp upon a charter, “ was not so bad as to usurp a vacated “ charter.”

“charter.” The General Assembly were obliged to be content with this answer, as it contained much truth, and came from the clergy, whose ambition and power are not to be trifled with.

Whatever might be the reason of the English Government’s winking at the contempt shewn to their authority by the people of Connecticut, it certainly added to their ingratitude and bias to usurpation. Having been in possession of that country one-hundred and forty years, the General Assembly, though unsupported either by law or justice, resolved to take up and settle their lands west not only of Hudson but Susquehanna river, and extending to the South-Sea. In pursuance of this resolution, they with modesty passed over New-York, and the Jerseys, because they are possessed by Mynheers and fighting christians, and seized on Pennsylvania, claimed by Quakers, who fight not for either wife or daughter.

They

They filled up their fathers iniquities, by murdering the Quakers and Indians, and taking possession of their lands; and no doubt, in another century, they will produce deeds of sale from Sunksquaw, Uncas, or some other supposititious Sachem. This is a striking instance of the use I have said the Colony sometimes make of their charter, to countenance and support their adventurous spirit of enterprize. They plead that their charter bounds them on the west by the South-Sea; but they seem to have forgotten that their charter was surreptitiously obtained; and that the clause on which they dwell is rendered nugatory, by the petitioners having described their lands as lying upon Connecticut river, and obtained partly by purchase and partly by conquest. Now, it being a fact beyond all controversy, that they then had not conquered, nor even pretended to have purchased, any lands west of Hudson's-River, it is evident

dent that their westernmost boundary never did or ought to extend further than to that river. Not that Mr. Pen has any just title to those lands on Susquehanna river which are the bone of contention, and which lie north of his patent : they belong to the assigns of the Plymouth Company, or to the Crown of England.

Republicanism, schisms, and persecutions, have ever prevailed in this Colony. —The religion of “*Sober Dissenters*” having been established by the General Assembly, each sect claimed the establishment in its favour. The true Independents denied that the Assembly had any further power over Christ’s Church than to protect it. Few Magistrates of any religion are willing to yield their authority to Ecclesiastics ; and few disciples of Luther or Calvin are willing to obey either civil or spiritual masters. In a Colony where the people are thus disposed, dominion will be religion, and faction conscience.

science. Hence arose contentions between the Assembly and Independents; and both parties having been brought up under Cromwell, their battles were well fought. The independent Ministers published, from their pulpits, that the Assembly played off one sect against another; and that Civilians were equal enemies to all parties, and acted more for their own interest than the glory of God. Those spiritual warriors, by their Associations, fasting and prayers, voted themselves the "*Sober Dissenters*," and got the better of the General Assembly. Indeed, none disputed their vote with impunity. Whenever a Governor manifested an inclination to govern Christ's Ministers, Christ's Ministers were sure to instruct the freemen not to re-elect him. The Magistrates declared they had rather be under Lords-Bishops than Lords-Associations. A Governor was appointed, who determined to reduce Christ's Ministers under
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the Civil Power; and, accordingly, the Assembly sent their Sheriff to bring before them certain leading men among the Ministers, of whom they banished some, silenced others, and fined many, for preaching sedition. The Ministers told the Assembly, that curst cows had short horns; and that “they were *Priests for ever* “*after the order of Melchisedec.*” However, like good christians, they submitted to the sentence of the Assembly; went home, fasted, and prayed, until the Lord pointed out a perfect cure for all their sufferings. On the day of election, they told the freemen that the Lord’s cause required a man of Grace to stand at the head of the Colony, and with sure confidence recommended the Moderator of the Association to be their Governor; and the Moderator was chosen. This event greatly inflamed the lay-magistrates, who were further mortified to see Ministers among the Representatives; whereupon they

they cried out, "This is a presbyterian popedom." Now Magistrates joined with other Churches which they had long persecuted; and the Connecticut Vine was rent more and more every day. The Ministers kept the power, but not always the office, of the Governor, whilst the weaker party paid the cost. One party was called Old Light, the other New Light: both aimed at power under pretence of religion; which-ever got the power, the other was persecuted. By this happy quarrel, the various sectarians were freed from their persecutions; because each contending party courted their votes and interest, to help to pull down its adversary. This has been the religious-political free system and practice of Connecticut since 1662.

In speaking of the religious phrenzies and persecutions in Connecticut under the sanction of the charter, I must notice the words of an eminent Quaker, who, as a blasphemer,

blasphemer, had been whipped, branded, burnt in the tongue, set on the gallows, banished, and, upon return, sentenced to be hanged. "Dost thee not think," said he to his Judges, "that the Jews, "who crucified the Saviour of the World, "had a *Charter*?"

Many have been the disputes between Connecticut and the neighbouring Colonies concerning their several boundaries, and much blood has been spilt on those occasions. On the north and east, where lie the Massachusetts and Rhode-Island, Connecticut has, in some degree, been the gainer; but has lost considerably on the west and south, to the engendering violent animosity against the *loyal* New-Yorkers, to whom it will probably prove fatal in the end. The detail is briefly as follows:

The Dutch settlers on New-York Island, Hudson's river, and the west end of Long Island, being subdued by Colonel
H Nichols

Nichols in September, 1664, the royal Commissioners, after hearing the Deputies from Connecticut in support of the charter granted to that province against the Duke of York's patent, ordered, in December following, that Long-Island should be annexed to the government of New-York, and that the West boundary of Connecticut should be a line drawn from the mouth of Mamaroneck river north - north - west to the line of the Massachusetts. This settlement, although it infringed their charter, was peaceably acquiesced in by the people of Connecticut; and not complained of by those of New-York till 1683, when they set up a claim founded upon a Dutch grant, *said* to be made in 1621, of all the lands from Cape Cod to Cape Henlopen. In furtherance of their pretensions, they had recourse to invasion and slander. Of the latter Mr. Smith has given a specimen in his History of New-York, where he says that the agreement

agreement in 1664 " was founded in ignorance and fraud ;" because, forsooth, " a north-north-west line from Mamaroneck would soon intersect Hudson's river !" Could any one of common-sense suppose the Dutch on the banks of Hudson's river, who no doubt were consulted upon the occasion, less acquainted with the course of it, than persons residing on the banks of the Connecticut? Extraordinarily absurd as such an insinuation might be, the people of Connecticut were aware of its probable weight with the Duke of York, whose patent grasped half their country ; and therefore, knowing by whom a contest must be decided, they consented to give up twenty miles of their land east of Hudson's river, hoping that would content a company of time-serving Jacobites and artful Dutchmen. But neither were they nor their Patron satisfied ; and the agreement was suspended till 1700, when it was con-

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firmed

firmed by William III. About twenty years afterwards, however, the New-Yorkers thought the times favourable to further encroachments; and at length, in 1731, they gained 60,000 acres more, called the Oblong, from Connecticut, purely because they had Dutch consciences, and for once reported in England what was true, that the New-England colonists hated Kings, whether natives or foreigners. Mr. Smith, indeed, p. 238, says, referring to Douglas's * Plan of the British Dominions

* Dr. Douglas was a naturalist, and a physician of considerable eminence in Boston, where he never attended any religious worship, having been educated in Scotland with such rancorous hatred against episcopacy, that, with his age, it ripened into open scepticism and deism. However, his many severities against the Episcopalians, New Lights, and Quakers, procured him a good name among the Old Lights, and the mongrel christians of New-York, whose policy and self-interest have always domineered over conscience and morality. For these reasons, his brother Smith, in his History of New-York, frequently quotes him, to prove his futile assertions against New-England, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

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of New-England in support of his assertion, that "Connecticut ceded these 60,000 acres to New York, as an *equivalent* for lands near the Sound *surrendered* to Connecticut by New-York." Mr. Smith, and all the New-York cabal, know, that there never were any lands in the possession of the New-Yorkers *surrendered* to Connecticut: on the contrary, Connecticut was forced, by the partiality of sovereigns, to give up, not only Long Island and the above-mentioned twenty miles east of Hudson's river, but also the Oblong, without any equivalent. How New-York could surrender lands and tenements which they never had any right to or possession of, is only to be explained thus: whereas the people of New-York did not extend their eastern boundary to Connecticut river, they therefore *surrendered* to Connecticut what they never had; which is like a highwayman's saying to a Gentleman, Give me ten gui-

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neas,



neas, and I will *surrender* to you your watch in your pocket.

Thus by degrees has Connecticut lost a tract of land sixty miles in length and above twenty in breadth, together with the whole of Long Island ; and this in the first place by a stretch of royal prerogative, and afterwards by the chicanery of their competitors, who have broken through all agreements as often as a temporising conduct seemed to promise them success. Whenever, therefore, a favourable opportunity presents itself, it is probable, that Messrs. Smith and Livingston, and other patroons in New-York, will find the last determination also to have been "founded in ignorance and fraud," and will be pushing their claim to all the lands west of Connecticut river ; but the opportunity must be favourable indeed, that allows them to encroach one foot farther with impunity.

Another stroke the people of Connecticut

necticut received about 1753 has sorely galled them ever since, and contributed not a little to their thirst of revenge. The Governor of New-York was then appointed " Captain-General and Commander in Chief of the militia, and " all the forces by sea and land, within " the Colony of Connecticut, and of all " the forts and places of strength within " the same." This violation of the Charter of Connecticut by George II. was very extraordinary, as the reins of Government were then in the hands of protestant dissenters, whose *supposed* veneration for the House of Hanover operated so powerfully, that the American protestant dissenting ministers were allowed to be installed teachers, and to hold synods, without taking the oath of allegiance to the English King, at the same time that papists, and even members of the Church of England, were not excused that obligation. The aggravat-

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ing appointment above mentioned added no celebrity to the name of George II. in New-England; nor, however excusable it may appear in the eyes of those who with me question the colonial pretensions of the people of Connecticut, was it, upon the ground they have been allowed to stand by the English government, justifiable in point of right, nor yet in point of policy, were the true character of the New-Yorkers fully known. This argument may be used on more occasions than the present.

But Connecticut hath not been the only sufferer from the restless ambition of New-York. Twenty miles depth of land belonging to the Massachusetts and Newhampshire provinces, which formerly claimed to Hudson's river, were cut off by the line that deprived Connecticut of the same proportion of its western territory. With this acquisition, surely, the New Yorkers might have been

been content; but very lately their *wisdom*, if not their "fraud," has prevailed over the "ignorance" of Newhampshire; which has sustained another amputation of its territory, eighty miles in width and two hundred miles in length; viz. all the land between the above mentioned twenty-mile line and Connecticut river. The particulars of this transaction are interesting. Benning Wentworth, Esq. Governor of Newhampshire, by order of his present Majesty, divided, in 1762, the vast tract of land just mentioned into about 360 townships, six miles square each. These townships he granted to proprietors belonging to the four provinces of New England, one township to sixty proprietors; and took his fees for the same, according to royal appointment. Every township was, in twelve years time, to have sixty families residing in it. In 1769 there were settled on this piece of land 30,000 souls, at a very great expence;

pence; and many townships contained 100 families. The New-Yorkers found means to deceive the King, and obtained a decree that the East boundary of New York, after passing Connecticut and Massachusetts-Bay, should be Connecticut river *. This decree annexed to the jurisdiction of New-York the said 360 townships; but was quietly submitted to by the proprietors, since it was his Majesty's will to put them under the jurisdiction of New-York, tho' they found themselves 150 miles farther from their new capital New-York, than they were from Portsmouth, their old one. Had the New-Yorkers rested satisfied with the jurisdiction, which alone the King

* Perhaps their success was facilitated by the consideration, that the quit-rent payable to the Crown in New-York is 2s. 6d. per 100 acres, but only 9d. in Newhampshire. The same may be said, with still more reason, in regard to the lands acquired by New-York from Massachusetts-Bay and Connecticut, where the quit-rent is—nothing.

had

had given them, they might have enjoyed their acquisition in peace ; and New-England would have thought they had possessed some justice, though destitute of religious zeal. But the Governor and General Assembly of New York, finding their interest in Old-England stronger than the interest of the New-Englanders, determined at once, that, as the King had given them jurisdiction over those 360 townships, he had also given them the lands in fee simple. Sir Henry More, the Governor, therefore, in 1767, began the laudable work of regranting those townships to such people as lived in New-York, and were willing to pay him 600l. York currency for his valuable name to each patent. It is remarkable that Sir Harry made every *lawyer* in the whole province a patentee ; but totally *forgot* the four public lots, viz, that for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, those for the church, the first clergyman, and
school

school in each township, which had been reserved in Governor Wentworth's grants. Death stopped his career; but Colden, the Lieutenant-Governor, filled up the measure of his iniquity, by granting all the rest on the same conditions. Sir Henry More had taken care to grant to his dear self one township, settled with above 80 families, before he died. Colden did the same for himself. The virtuous William Smith, Esq; of New-York, had a township also; and Sir Henry More left him his executor to drive off the New-England settlers. This, however, he attempted in vain. The polite New-Yorkers, having the jurisdiction, betook themselves to law, to get possession of the lands in question, which they called their own; and sent the posse of Albany to eject the possessors; but this mighty power was answered by Ethan Allen, and the old proprietors under Governor Wentworth, who was a King's Governor as well as Sir

Sir Henry More :---the Mynheers of Albany were glad to have liberty to return home alive.— See here the origin of Ethan Allen !—of the Verdmonts, and the Robbers of the Green Mountains; a compliment paid by the New-Yorkers to the settlers under Governor Wentworth;— who, on that amiable gentleman's death, had no friend of note left in England; and were therefore under the necessity of defending themselves, or becoming tenants to a set of people who neither *feared God* nor *honoured the King*, but when they got something by it.— The New-Yorkers had the grace, after this, to outlaw Ethan Allen, which rendered him of consequence in New England; and it would not surprize me to hear that New-York, Albany, and all that the Dutchmen possess in houses east of Hudson's River, were consumed by fire, and the inhabitants sent to Heaven, in the style of Dr. Mather, by the way of Amsterdam. I must

must do the New-Englanders the justice to say, that, though they esteem not highly Kings or Lords, yet they never complained against his Majesty for what was done respecting Vermont; on the contrary, they ever said the King would reverse the obnoxious decree, whenever he should be acquainted with the truth of the case, which the New-Yorkers artfully concealed from his knowledge.—There are in the four New-England provinces near 800,000 souls, and very few unconnected with the settlements on Vermont; the property of which was duly vested in them by Wentworth, the King's Governor, whose predecessors and himself had jurisdiction over it also for 106 years. They say, what is very legal and just, that his Majesty had a right to annex Vermont to the government of New-York, but could not give the fee of the land, because he had before given it to the New-Englanders. It appears very unlikely that
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those hardy sons of Oliver will ever give up Vermont to the New-Yorkers by the order of Sir Henry More, or any other Governor, till compelled by the point of the sword. The Mynheers have more to fear than the New-Englanders, who will never yield to Dutch virtue. Van Tromp was brave; Oliver was brave and successful too.

Mather, Neal, and Hutchinson, represent religion to have been the cause of the first settlement of New-England; and the love of gold as the stimulus of the Spaniards in settling their colonies in the southern parts of America; but, if we should credit the Spanish historians, we must believe that their countrymen were as much influenced by religion in their colonial pursuits as were our own. However, in general, it may be said, that the conduct of both parties towards the aborigines discovered no principles but what were disgraceful to human nature.

Murder,

Murder, plunder, and outrage, were the means made use of to convert the benighted savages of the wilderness to the system of Him "who went about doing good." If we may depend on Abbé Nicolle, the Spaniards killed of the Aytis, or the savage nations, in the Island of Hispaniola, 3,000,000 in seventeen years; 600,000 in Porto Rico, and twenty times these numbers on the continent of South-America, in order to propagate the Gospel in a savage and howling wilderness! The English colonists have been as industrious in spreading the Gospel in the howling wilderness of North America. Upwards of 180,000 Indians, at least, have been slaughtered in Massachusetts-Bay and Connecticut *, to make way for the

* In 1680, the number of Indians, or aborigines, in the whole Province of Connecticut, was 4000. This was allowed by the General Assembly. How much greater their number was in 1637, may be estimated from the accounts given by Dr. Mather, Mr.

the protestant religion ; and, upon a moderate computation for the rest of the Colonies on the Continent and West-India Islands, I think one may venture to assert, that near 2,000,000 savages have been dismissed from an unpleasant world to

Mr. Neal, Mr. Penhallow, and Mr. Hutchinson, of the deaths of Englishmen in the Indian wars for the space of forty-three years. It has been computed, that, from 1637 to 1680, upon an average, 100 Englishmen were killed yearly in those wars, and that there were killed, with the sword, gun, and small-pox, 20 Indians for one Englishman. If this calculation is just, it appears that the English killed of the Indians, during the above-mentioned period, 86000 ; to which number the 4000 Indians remaining in 1680 being added, it is clear that there were 90,000 Indians in Connecticut when Hooker began his holy war upon them : not to form conjectures upon those who probably afterwards abandoned the country. This evinces the weakness of the Indian mode of fighting with bows and arrows against guns, and the impropriety of calling Connecticut an *howling wilderness* in 1636, when Hooker arrived at Hertford. The English in 136 years have not much more than doubled the number of Indians they killed in 43 years. In 1770 the number of Indians in Connecticut amounted not to 400 souls.

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the world of spirits, for the honour of the protestant religion and English liberty. Nevertheless, having travelled over most parts of British America, I am able to declare, with great sincerity, that this mode of converting the native Indians is godlike in comparison with that adopted for the Africans. These miserable people are first kidnapped, then *put under saws, harrows and axes of iron, and forced thro' the brick-kiln to Molock*. Near half a million of them are doomed to hug their misery in ignorance, nakedness, and hunger, among their masters upper servants in Georgia, the Carolina's, Virginia, and Maryland. The number of these wretches upon the continent and islands is scarce credible; above 100,000 in Jamaica alone; all toiling for the tyrant's pleasure; none seeking other happiness than to be skreened from the torture rendered necessary by that curious American maxim, that men must be *will-
ing*

ing to die before they are fit for the Kingdom of Heaven. However, what Mussulman, African, or American, would not prefer the state of a christian *master*, who *dreads death above all things*, to the state of those christian *converts*? Christianity has been cursed through the insincerity of its professors; even savages despise its precepts, because they have no influence on christians themselves. Whatever religious pretences the Spaniards, French, or English, may plead for depopulating and repeopling America, it is pretty clear, that the desire of gold and dominion was no impotent instigation with them to seek the western continent. The British leaders in the scheme of emigration had felt the humiliating effects of the feudal system; particularly the partial distribution of fortunes and honours among children of the same venter in the mother country. They had seen that this inequality produced insolence and oppression, which awakened the sentiments of independence

and liberty, the instincts of every man. Nature then kindled war against the oppressors, and the oppressors appealed to prescription. The event was, Infelicity began her reign. Both parties invoked Religion, but prostrated themselves before the insidious shrine of Superstition, the life of civil government, and the sinews of war; that expiates crimes by prayers, uses ceremonies for good works, esteems devotion more than virtue, supports religion without probity, values honesty less than honour, generates happiness without morality, and is a glorious helmet to the ambitious. They enlisted vassals with her bounty, to fight, burn, and destroy, one another, for the sake of religion. Behold the sequel! The vassals secured to themselves more than Egyptian masters and laws, both in the elder and younger brothers; yet, after all, Superstition told them they enjoyed liberty and the rights of human nature. Happy deception! The Spartan Magnotes,
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tributary to the Turks, are jealous of their liberties ; while the American Cansez, near Lake Superior, enjoy liberty complete without jealousy. Among the latter, the conscious independence of each individual warms his thoughts and guides his actions. He enters the sache-mic dome with the same simple freedom as he enters the wigwam of his brother ; neither dazzled at the splendor, nor awed by the power, of the possessor. Here is liberty in perfection ! What *Christian* would wish to travel 4000 miles to rob an unoffending savage of what he holds by the law of nature ? That is not the Gold or Dominion that any *Christian* ever sought for. The first settlers of America had views very different from those of making it a *christian* country : their grand aim was to get free from the insolence of their elder brethren, and to aggrandize themselves in a new world, at the expence of the life, liberty, and

I 3 property,

property, of the savages. Had the invaders of New-England sown the seeds of *christian* benevolence, even after they had eradicated the savages and savage virtues, the world would not have reproached them for cherishing that all-grasping spirit in themselves, which in others had driven them from their parent country : but the feudal system, which they considered as an abominable vice in England, became a shining virtue on the other side of the Atlantic, and would have prevailed there, had the People been as blind and tame in worldly, as they were in spiritual concerns. But they had too long heard their leaders declaim against the monopoly of lands and titles, not to discover that they themselves were men, and entitled to the rights of that race of beings : and they proceeded upon the same maxims, which they found also among the Indians, viz. that mankind are, by nature, upon an equality in point of rank

rank and possession; that it is incompatible with freedom for any particular descriptions of men systematically to monopolize honours and property, to the exclusion of the rest; that it was a part despicable and unworthy of one freeman to stoop to the will and caprice of another, on account of his wealth and titles, accruing not from his own, but from the heroism and virtue of his ancestors, &c. &c. The *vox populi* established these maxims in New-England; and whoever did not, at least, outwardly conform to them, were not chosen into office; nay, though not objectionable on that score, men very seldom met with re-appointments, lest they should claim them by hereditary right. Thus, the levelling principle prevailing, equals were respected, and superiors derided. Europeans, whose manners were haughty to inferiors and fawning to superiors, were neither loved nor esteemed. Hence an English traveller

through Connecticut meets with supercilious treatment at all taverns, as being too much addicted to the use of the Imperative Mood, when speaking to the landlord. The answer is, "Command your own servants, and not me." The traveller is not obeyed; which provokes him to some expressions that are not legal in the colony, about the *impertinence* of the landlord, who being commonly a justice of the peace, the delinquent is immediately ordered into custody, fined, or put into the stocks. However, after paying costs, and promising to behave well in future, he passes on with more attention to his "unruly member" than to his pleasures. Nevertheless, if a traveller softens his tone, and avoids the Imperative Mood, he will find every civility from those very people, whose natural tempers are full of antipathy against all who affect superiority over them. This principle is, by long custom, blended with

with the religious doctrines of the province; and the people believe those to be heretics and Arminians who assent not to their supremacy. Hence they consider kingly Governors as the short horns of antichrist, and every Colony in a state of persecution which cannot chuse its own Governor and Magistrates. Their aversion to New-York is inconceivably great on this account, as well as others I have mentioned. Their jealousies and fears of coming under its jurisdiction make them heroes in the cause of liberty, and great inquisitors into the characters and conduct of all kingly Governors. They have selected Mr. Tryon as the only English Governor who has acted with justice and generosity in respect to the rights, liberties, and feelings, of mankind, while, they say, avarice, plunder, and oppression, have marked the footsteps of all the rest. This character Mr. Tryon possessed even after he had subdued the Regulators in North-

North-Carolina and was appointed Governor of New-York. Some persons assert, indeed, that he secured the good-will of Connecticut, by recommending, in England, the *Livingston's*, *Schuyler's*, and *Smith's*, as the best subjects in New-York. However, Mr. Tryon was undoubtedly entitled to good report: he was humane and polite: to him the injured had access without a fee: he would hear the poor man's complaint, though it wanted the aid of a polished lawyer. Besides, Mr. Tryon did not think it beneath him to speak to a peasant in the street, or to stop his coach to give people an opportunity to let him pass. His object was not to make his fortune, nor did he neglect the interest of the people. He embellished not his language with oaths and curses, nor spent the Sabbath at taverns. 'Tis true, Mr. Tryon went not to meeting; but he was forgiven this offence, because he went to church: the people of New-England having

having so much candour as to believe a man may be *a good sort of a man*, if he goes to church, and is exemplary in his words and deeds. I have not the honour of being known to Mr. Tryon, but, from what I know of him, I must say, without meaning to offend any other, that he was the best Governor and the most pleasing gentleman that I ever saw in a civil capacity in America ; and that I cannot name any Briton so well calculated to govern in Connecticut, with ease and safety to himself, as he is. One reason for this assertion is, that Mr. Tryon has a punctilious regard for his word ; a quality, which, tho' treachery is the staple commodity of the four New-England Provinces, the people greatly admire in a Governor, and which, they say, they have seldom found in royal Governors in America.

———But whither am I wandering ? I beg pardon for this digression, though in favour of so worthy a man.

Of

Of the share Connecticut has taken, in common with her sister colonies, in co-operating with the Mother-country against her natural enemies, it is superfluous to say any-thing here, that being already sufficiently known. I shall therefore proceed to a description of the country, its towns, productions, &c. together with the manners, customs, commerce, &c. of the inhabitants, interspersing such historical and biographical anecdotes, as may occur to me in the relation, and have a tendency to elucidate matter of fact, or characterize the people.

The dimensions of Connecticut, according to its present allowed extent, are, from the Sound, on the south, to the Massachusetts line, on the north, about sixty miles; and from Biram river and New-York line, on the west, to Narraganset Bay, Rhode-Island, and Massachusetts-Bay, on the east, upon an average, about 100 miles.

miles. It is computed to contain 5,000,000 acres.

Many creeks, inlets, bays, and rivers intersect the coast. Three of the last, dividing the colony into as many parts, I shall particularly notice. They all run from north to south.

The eastern river is called the Thames as far as it is navigable, which is only to Norwich, 14 miles from its mouth. There dividing, the greatest branch, called Quinnibaug, rolls rapidly from its source 100 miles distant though many towns and villages, to their great pleasantness and profit. On it are many mills and iron-works; and in it various kinds of fish; but no salmon, for want of proper places to nourish their spawn.

The middle river is named Connecticut, after the great Sachem to whom that part of the province through which it runs belonged. This vast river is 500 miles long, and four miles wide at its mouth:

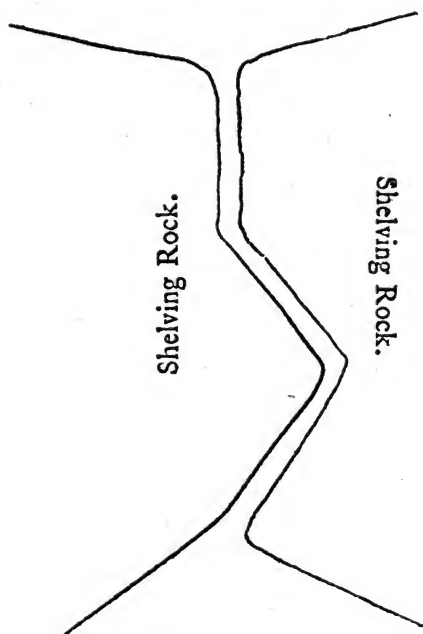
mouth : its channel, or inner banks, in general, half a mile wide. It takes its rise from the White Hills, in the north of New-England, where also springs the river Kennebec. Above 500 rivulets, which issue from lakes, ponds, and drowned lands, fall into it : many of them are larger than the Thames at London. In March, when the rain and sun melt the snow and ice, each stream is overcharged, and kindly hastens to this great river, to overflow, fertilise, and preserve its trembling meadows. They lift up enormous cakes of ice, bursting from their frozen beds with threatening intentions of plowing up the frightened earth, and carry them rapidly down the falls, where they are dashed in pieces and rise in mist. Except at these falls, of which there are five, the first sixty miles from its mouth, the river is navigable throughout. In its northern parts are 3 great bendings, called *cohooses*, about 100 miles asunder.

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Two hundred miles from the Sound is a narrow of five yards only, formed by two shelving mountains of solid rock, whose tops intercept the clouds. Thro' this chasm are compelled to pass all the waters which in the time of the floods bury the northern country. At the upper cohos the river then spreads 24 miles wide, and for five or six weeks ships of war might sail over lands, that afterwards produce the greatest crops of hay and grain in all America. People who can bear the sight, the groans, the tremblings, and surly motion of water, trees, and ice, through this awful passage, view with astonishment one of the greatest phenomenons in nature. Here water is consolidated, without frost, by pressure, by swiftness, between the pinching, sturdy rocks, to such a degree of induration, that no iron crow can be forced into it:—here iron, lead, and cork, have one common weight:—here, steady as time, and harder than marble, the stream passes irresistible,

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if not swift, as lightning:—the electric fire rends trees in pieces with no greater ease, than does this mighty water. The passage is about 400 yards in length, and of a zigzag form, with obtuse corners. The following representation will assist the reader in forming an idea of it.



At high water are carried through this straight masts and other timber with incredible swiftness, and sometimes with safety; but when the water is too low, the masts, timber, and trees, strike on one side or the other, and, though of the largest size, are rent, in one moment, into shivers, and splintered like a broom, to the amazement of spectators. The meadows, for many miles below, are covered with immense quantities of wood thus torn in pieces, which compel the hardiest travellers to reflect, how feeble is man, and how great that Almighty who formed the lightnings, thunders, and the irresistible power and strength of waters !

No living creature was ever known to pass through this narrow, except an Indian woman, who was, in a canoe, attempting to cross the river above it, but carelessly suffered herself to fall within the power of the current. Perceiving her danger, she took a bottle of rum she had with

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her, and drank the whole of it ; then lay down in her canoe, to meet her destiny. She marvellously went through safely, and was taken out of the canoe some miles below, quite intoxicated, by some Englishmen. Being asked how she could be so daringly imprudent as to drink such a quantity of rum with the prospect of instant death before her, the squaw, as well as her condition would let her, replied, “ Yes, it was too much rum for “ once, to be sure ; but I was not willing “ to lose a drop of it : so I drank it, and “ you see I have saved all.”

Some persons assert that salmon have been caught above this narrow, while others deny it. Many have observed salmon attempt to pass in the time of floods, which certainly is the best and likeliest time, as, from the height of the water, and the shelving of the rocks, the passage is then broader ; but they were always thrown back, and generally killed. It is not to be supposed

supposed that any fish could pass with the stream alive. Above this narrow there is plenty of fish both in summer and winter, which belong to the lakes or ponds that communicate with the river : below it are the greatest abundance and variety caught or known in North America. No salmon are found in any river to the westward of this.

Except the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, the Connecticut is the largest river belonging to the English plantations in the New World. On each shore of it are two great roads leading from the mouth 200 miles up the country, lined on both sides with the best-built houses in America, if not in the world. It is computed, that the country on each bank of this river, to a depth of six miles, and a length of 300, is sufficient for the maintenance of an army of 100,000 men. In short, the neighbouring spacious and fertile meadow, arable, and other lands,

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combined with this noble river, are at once the beauty and main support of all New-England.

The western river is navigable and called Stratford only for ten miles, where Derby stands; and then takes the name of Osootonoc. It is 50 miles west from Connecticut river, and half a mile wide. It rises in the Verdmonts, above 200 miles from the sea, and travels 300 miles through many pleasant towns and villages. The adjacent meadows are narrow, and the country in general very hilly. With some expence it might be made navigable above 100 miles. It furnishes fish of various kinds, and serves many mills and iron-works.

Two principal bays, named Saffacus or New-London, and Quinnipiog or New-haven, run five or six miles into the country, and are met by rivers which formerly bore the Sachems names.

It has already been observed, that Connecticut

necticut was settled under three distinct independent Governors; and that each Dominion, since their union in 1664, has been divided into two counties.

The KINGDOM OF SASSACUS, Sachem of the Pequods, a warlike nation, forms the counties of New-London and Windham, which contain about 10,000 houses, and 60,000 inhabitants. Sassacus was brave by nature. The sound of his coming would subdue nations, at the same time that Justice would unbend his bow, and Honour calm the thunder of his tongue. Dr. Mather, Mr. Neal, and others, have endeavoured to blast his fame by proving him to have been the aggressor in the bloody wars which ended in his ruin. They have instanced the murder of Captain Stone and others, to justify this war, but carefully concealed the assassination of Quinnipiog, the treachery of Mr. Elliot (the Massachusetts-Bay Apostle of the Indians), and the in-

famous villainy of Hooker, who spread death upon the leaves of his Bible, and struck Connecticote mad with disease. They also conceal another important truth, that the English had taken possession of lands belonging to Sassacus, without purchase or his consent. Besides, Sassacus had too much sagacity to let christian spies, under the appellation of gospel missionaries, pass through his country. He had seen the consequences of admitting such ministers of christianity from Boston, Hertford, &c. among his neighbouring nations, and generously warned them to keep their gospel of peace from his dominions. The invaders of this howling wilderness, finding their savage love detected, and that the Pequods were not likely to fall a sacrifice to their hypocrisy, proclaimed open war with sword and gun. The unfortunate Sassacus met his fate. Alas! he died—not like Connecticote, nor Quinnipiog—but

but in the field of battle; and the freedom of his country expired with his final groan. This mighty conquest was achieved by the colonists of Connecticut, without the aid of the Massachusetts; nevertheless, Mr. Neal and others have ascribed the *honour* of it to the latter, with a view of magnifying their consequence, over Mr. Neal's grand object.

The county of New-London abounds chiefly with wool, butter, cheese, and Indian corn; and contains eight towns, all which I shall describe.

New-London has the river Thames on the east, and the bay of its own name on the south, and resembles Islington. Its port and harbour are the best in the colony. The church, the meeting, and court-house, are not to be boasted of; the fort is trifling. The houses in this, as in all the towns in the province, are insulated, at

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the distance of three, four, or five yards one from the other, to prevent the ravages of fire. That of John Winthrop, Esq; is the best in the province. The township is ten miles square, and comprizes five parishes, one of which is episcopal. Abimeleck, a descendant of the first English-made king of Mohegin, resides with his small party in this township. He is a king to whom the people pay some respect,---*because they made him so.*

The people of this town have the credit of inventing tar and feathers as a proper punishment for heresy. They first inflicted it on quakers and anabaptists.

New-London has a printing press, much exercised in the business of pamphlets, sermons, and newspapers. It is employed by the Governor and Company, and is the oldest and best in the colony, Newhaven, Hertford, and Norwich, also, have each a printing press; so that the people are plentifully supplied with news, politics,

politics, and polemical divinity.——A very extraordinary circumstance happened here in 1740. Mr. George Whitefield paid them a visit, and preached of *righteousness, temperance, and a judgment to come*, which roused them into the belief of an heaven and an hell. They became as *children weaned* and pliable as *melted wax*, and with great eagerness cried out, *What shall we do to be saved?* The preacher, then in the pulpit, thus answered them, “Repent—do violence to no man—part with your self-righteousness, your silk gowns, and laced petticoats—burn your ruffles, necklaces, jewels, rings, tinfelled waistcoats, your morality and bishops books, this very night, or damnation will be your portion before the morning-dawn.” The people, rather thro’ fear than faith, instantly went out on the common, and prepared for heaven, by burning all the above *enumerated goods*, excepting that of self-righteousness, which
was

feet to the west.—The following couplet was written by a traveller on the steeple :

“ They’re so perverse and opposite,
“ As if they built to God in spite.”

The reasons for the singular custom of burying the dead with their feet to the west, are two, and special : first, when Christ begins his millenarian reign, he will come from the west, and his saints will be in a ready posture to rise and meet him : secondly, the papists and episcopalians bury their dead with their feet to the east.

Was I to give a character of the people of Norwich, I would do it in the words of the famous Mr. George Whitefield, (who was a good judge of mankind,) in his farewell-fermon to them a short time before his death ; viz. “ When I first preached in this magnificent house, above 20 years ago, I told you, that you were part beast, part man, and part devil ; at which you were offended. I have since
thought

thought much about that expression, and confess that for once I was mistaken. I therefore take this last opportunity to correct my error. Behold! I now tell you, that you are not part man and part beast, but wholly of the devil."

Lyme stands on the east side of Connecticut river, opposite Saybrook; and resembles Lewisham. The township is 16 miles long, and 8 wide; and forms four parishes.

Saybrook is situated on the west side of Connecticut river, 20 miles west from New-London, and resembles Battersea. The township is twenty miles long and six wide, and forms four parishes. This town was named after the Lords Say and Brook, who were said to claim the country, and sent, in 1634, a Governor and a large number of people from England to build a fort and settle the colony. See pp. 9—18.

pp. 9—18. It was principally owing to this fort that Hertford and Newhaven made good their settlements: it prevented Saffacus from giving timely aid to Connecticut and Quinnipioq.

Saybrook is greatly fallen from its ancient grandeur; but is, notwithstanding, resorted to with great veneration, as the parent town of the whole colony. The tombs of the first settlers are held sacred, and travellers seldom pass them without the compliment of a sigh or tear. On one mossy stone is written,

“Here pride is calm’d, and death is life.”

In 1709, this town was honoured by a convention of contending independent divines, who were pleased with no constitution in church or state.—This multitude of sectarians, after long debates, published a book, called, The Saybrook Platform, containing the doctrines and rules of the churches in Connecticut. The only novelty in this system is, that
Christ

Christ has delegated his ministerial, kingly, and prophetic power, one half to the people, and the other half to the ministers. This proposition may be thought in Europe a very strange one; but, if it be recollected, that the people in the province claimed all power in heaven and on earth, and that the ministers had no other ordination than what came from the people, it will appear, that the ministers hereby gained from the people one half of their power. From this article originated the practice of the right hand of fellowship at the ordination of a minister. No one can be a minister, till he receives the right hand of the messenger who represents six deacons from six congregations. The conclusion of this reverend and venerable body is, "The Bible is our rule."

Mr. Neal says, p. 610, "That every particular society is a compleat church, having power to exercise all ecclesiastical
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“cal jurisdiction, without appeal to any
 “classis:—they allow of synods for coun-
 “cil and advice, but not to exercise the
 “power of the keys.”

If Mr. Neal had taken the trouble to read the History of the Church of Massachusetts-Bay, written by the Reverend Mr. John Wise, a minister of that church, he would have found that the contrary to all he has advanced is the truth. The people of that province held the keys from 1620 to 1650: then the ministers got possession of them by their own vote, which was passed into a law by the General Assembly. The vote was, “There cannot be a minister, unless he is ordained by ministers of Jesus Christ.” Thus commenced ordination by ministers in New-England. The people were alarmed at the loss of the keys, and asked the ministers who had ordained them? The ministers answered, The people. Then, replied the people, we are the ministers
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of Jesus Christ, or you are not ministers ; and we will keep the power. A violent contest ensued between the people and the ministers ; but the latter, by the help of the General Assembly, retained the power of the keys, and instituted three ecclesiastical courts, viz. 1. The Minister and his Communicants ; 2. The Association ; and, 3. The Synod. There lies an appeal from one to the other of these courts, all which exercise so much ecclesiastical power, that few are easy under it. The first court suspends from the communion ; the second re-hears the evidence, and confirms or sets aside the suspension ; the synod, after hearing the case again, excommunicates or discharges the accused. From this last judgment no appeal is allowed by the synod. The excommunicated person has no other resource than petitioning the General Assembly of the province, which sometimes grants relief, to the great grief of the synod and ministers.

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But the representatives commonly pay dear for overlooking the conduct of the synod at the next election.

The people of Connecticut have adopted the same mode of discipline as prevails in Massachusetts-Bay ; but call a synod a Consociation.

To shew that the synods are not quite so harmless as Mr. Neal reports, I will give an instance of their authority exercised in Connecticut in 1758. A Mr. Merret, of Lebanon, having lost his wife, with whom he had lived childless 40 years, went to Rhode-Island, and married a niece of his late wife, which was agreeable to the laws of that province. By her having a child, Mr. Merret offered the same for baptism to the minister of whose church he was a member. The minister refused, because it was an incestuous child ; and cited Merret and his wife to appear before himself and his church upon an indictment of incest.

incest. Merret appeared; the verdict was, *Guilty of incest*. He appealed to the association, which also found him *guilty of incest*. He again appealed to the consociation, and was again found *guilty of incest*. — Merret and his wife were then ordered to separate, and to make a public confession, on pain of excommunication. Merret refused; whereupon the minister read the act of excommunication, while the deacons shoved Merret out of the meeting-house. Being thus *cast out of the synagogue*, and debarred from the conversation of any-one in the parish, it was well said by Mr. Merret, “If this be not to exercise the power of the “keys, I know not what it is.” The poor man soon after died of a broken heart, and was buried in his own garden by such christian brethren as were not afraid of the *mild* puissance of the consociation.

Mr. Neal says, also, p. 609, after evincing his jealousy at the growth of the

church of England in New-England,
 “ If the religious liberties of the planta-
 “ tions are invaded by the setting up of
 “ spiritual courts, &c. they will feel the
 “ sad effects of it.” In this sentiment I
 agree with Mr. Neal; but, unluckily,
 he meant the bishop’s courts, and I mean
 the courts of synods, composed of his
 “ meek, exemplary, and learned divines of
 New-England,” but who are more severe
 and terrible than ever was the star-cham-
 ber under the influence of Laud, or the
 inquisition of Spain. The ecclesiastical
 courts of New-England have, in the course
 of 160 years, bored the tongues with
 hot needles, cut off the ears, branded
 the foreheads of, and banished, imprison-
 ed, and hanged, more quakers, baptists,
 adamites, ranters, episcopalians, for what
 they call heresy, blasphemy, and witch-
 craft, than there are instances of persecu-
 tion in Fox’s book of Martyrology, or
 under the bishops of England since the
 death

death of Henry VIII. And yet Mr. Neal was afraid of spiritual courts, and admired the practice of the New-England churches, who only excommunicate offenders, delivering them over to the civil magistrate to torture and ruin. If I remember right, I once saw the inquisition in Portugal act after the very same manner, when the priest said, "We deal with
 " the soul, and the civil magistrate with
 " the body."

Time not having destroyed the walls of the fort at Saybrook, Mr. Whitefield, in 1740, attempted to bring them down, as Joshua brought down those of Jerico, to convince the gaping multitude of his divine mission. He walked seven times round the fort with prayer and ramshorns blowing—he called on the angel of Joshua to come and do as he had done at the walls of Jericho; but the angel was deaf, or on a journey, or asleep; and therefore the walls remained. Here-

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upon

upon George cried aloud, "This town is accursed for not receiving the messenger of the Lord; therefore the angel is departed, and the walls shall stand as a monument of a sinful people." He *shook off the dust of his feet* against them, and departed, and went to Lyme.

Killingworth is ten miles west from Saybrook, lies on the sea, and resembles Wandsworth. The township is eight miles square, and divided into two parishes. This town is noted for the residence of the Rev. Mr. Elliot, commonly called Dr. Elliot, who discovered the art of making steel out of sand, and wrote a book on husbandry, which will secure him a place in the Temple of Fame.

Windham, the second county in the ancient kingdom of Saffacus, or colony of Saybrook, is hilly; but, the soil being rich,
has

has excellent butter, cheese, hemp, wheat, Indian corn, and horses. Its towns are twelve.

Windham resembles Rumford, and stands on Winnomantic river. Its meeting-house is elegant, and has a steeple, bell, and clock. Its court-house is scarcely to be looked upon as an ornament. The township forms four parishes, and is ten miles square.

Strangers are very much terrified at the hideous noise made on summer evenings by the vast numbers of frogs in the brooks and ponds. There are about thirty different voices among them; some of which resemble the bellowing of a bull. The owls and whipperwills complete the rough concert, which may be heard several miles. Persons accustomed to such serenades are not disturbed by them at their proper stations; but one night, in July, 1758, the frogs of an arti-

L 4 ficial

ificial pond, three miles square, and about five from Windham, finding the water dried up, left the place in a body, and marched, or rather hopped, towards Winnomantic river. They were under the necessity of taking the road and going through the town, which they entered about midnight. The bull frogs were the leaders, and the pipers followed without number. They filled a road 40 yards wide for four miles in length, and were for several hours passing through the town, unusually clamorous. The inhabitants were equally perplexed and frightened: some expected to find an army of French and Indians; others feared an earthquake, and dissolution of nature. The consternation was universal. Old and young, male and female, fled naked from their beds with worse shriekings than those of the frogs. The event was fatal to several women. The men, after a flight of half a mile, in which they met with many
broken

broken shins, finding no enemies in pursuit of them, made a halt, and summoned resolution enough to venture back to their wives and children; when they distinctly heard from the enemy's camp these words, *Wight, Helderken, Dier, Tètè*. This last they thought meant *treaty*; and plucking up courage, they sent a triumvirate to capitulate with the supposed French and Indians. These three men approached in their shirts, and begged to speak with the General; but it being dark, and no answer given, they were sorely agitated for some time betwixt hope and fear; at length, however, they discovered that the dreaded inimical army was an army of thirsty frogs going to the river for a little water.

Such an incurfion was never known before nor fince; and yet the people of Windham have been ridiculed for their timidity on this occafion. I verily believe an army under the Duke of Marlborough

borough would, under like circumstances, have acted no better than they did.

In 1768, the inhabitants on Connecticut river were as much alarmed at an army of caterpillars, as those of Windham were at the frogs; and no one found reason to jest at their fears. Those worms came in one night and covered the earth on both sides of that river, to an extent of three miles in front and two in depth. They marched with great speed, and eat up every-thing green for the space of 100 miles, in spite of rivers, ditches, fires, and the united efforts of 1000 men. They were, in general, two inches long, had white bodies covered with thorns, and red throats. When they had finished their work, they went down to the river Connecticut, where they died, poisoning the waters until they were washed into the sea. This calamity was imputed by some to the vast number of trees and logs lying in the
creeks,

creeks, and to the cinders, smoke, and fires made to consume the waste wood, for three or four hundred miles up the Connecticut; while others thought it augured future evils similar to those in Egypt. The inhabitants of the Vermonts would unavoidably have perished by famine in consequence of the devastation of these worms, had not a remarkable providence filled the wilderness with wild pigeons, which were killed by sticks as they sat on the branches of trees in such multitudes, that 30,000 people lived on them for three weeks. If a natural cause may be assigned for the coming of the frogs and caterpillars, yet the visit of the pigeons to a wilderness in August has been necessarily ascribed to an interposition of infinite power and goodness. Happy will it be for America, if the smiling providence of Heaven produces gratitude, repentance, and obedience, amongst her children!

Lebanon

Lebanon lies on the west side of Winnomantic river. Its best street, which has good houses on both sides, is one mile long, and 100 yards wide. An elegant meeting, with a steeple and bell, stands in the center. The township is ten miles square, and forms four parishes. This town was formerly famous for an Indian school under the conduct of the Reverend Dr. Eleazer Wheelock, whose great zeal for the spiritual good of the savages in the wilderness induced him to solicit a collection through England. Having met with success, his school at Lebanon became a college in the Province of Newhampshire; where he has converted his godliness into gain, and promises fair to excuse Government from the expence of a superintendent of Indian affairs.

Coventry lies on the same river: the houses are straggling. The township is ten miles square, and consists of two parishes.

ishes. Here are two ponds, the one three, the other four miles long, and half as wide, well filled with mackarel and other fish.

Mansfield lies east of Coventry, on Winnomantic and Fundy rivers: the houses are scattered. The township is eight miles square, and divided into two parishes.

Union and *Willington* lie on Winnomantic river, forming two parishes. Each township is six miles square.

Ashford lies on the river Fundy, in a township ten miles square, and forming three parishes. The people of the town have distinguished themselves by a strict enforcement of the colony laws against heretics, and episcopalians, for not attending their meetings on the Sabbath.

Woodstock lies on Quinnibaug, and resembles

resembles Finchley. The township is ten miles square, and divided into three parishes.—Woodstock had the honour to give birth to the Rev. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, D. D. a learned Divine of the Church of England, and well known in the literary world.

Killingsley lies east of Woodstock. The township, twenty miles long, and six wide, forms three parishes.

Pomfret stands on Quinnibaug river, and resembles Battersea. The township is twelve miles square, and forms four parishes, one of which is episcopal.—Fanaticism had always prevailed in the county of Windham over christian moderation; when, about the year 1770, after many abuses, the episcopalians found a friend in Godfree Malebone, Esq. who built on his own estate an elegant church, which was patronized by the Society for the
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the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign Parts, who appointed a clergyman.

We read that David slew a lion and a bear, and afterwards that Saul trusted him to fight Goliath. In Pomfret lives Colonel Israel Putnam, who slew a she-bear and her two cubs with a billet of wood. The bravery of this action brought him into public notice : and, it seems, he is one of Fortune's favourites. The story is as follows :—In 1754, a large she-bear came in the night from her den, which was three miles from Mr. Putnam's house, and took a sow out of a pen of his. The sow, by her squeaking, awoke Mr. Putnam, who hastily ran in his shirt to the poor creature's relief ; but before he could reach the pen, the bear had left it, and was trotting away with the sow in her mouth. Mr. Putnam took up a billet of wood, and followed the screamings of the sow, till he came to the foot of a mountain, where the den was. Dauntless he entered

entered the horrid cavern ; and, after walking and crawling upon his hands and knees for fifty yards, came to a roomy cell, where the bear met him with great fury. He saw nothing but the fire of her eyes ; but that was sufficient for our hero : he accordingly directed his blow, which at once proved fatal to the bear, and saved his own life at a most critical moment. Putnam then discovered and killed two cubs ; and having, though in Egyptian darkness, dragged them and the dead sow, one by one, out of the cave, he went home, and calmly reported to his family what had happened. The neighbours declared, on viewing the place by torch-light, that his exploit exceeded those of Sampson or David. — Soon afterwards, the General Assembly appointed Mr. Putnam a Lieutenant in the army marching against Canada. His courage and good conduct raised him to the rank of Captain the next year. The third year he was made
a Major ;

a Major; and the fourth a Colonel. Putnam and Rogers were the heroes through the last war. Putnam was so hardy, at a time when the Indians had killed all his men, and completely hemmed him in upon a river, as to leap into the stream, which in a minute carried him down a stupendous fall, where no tree could pass without being torn in pieces. The Indians reasonably concluded that Putnam, their terrible enemy, was dead, and made their report accordingly at Ticonderoga; but soon after, a scouting party found their sad mistake in a bloody rencontre. Some few that got off declared that Putnam was yet living, and that he was the first son of Hobbamockow, and therefore immortal. However, at length, the Indians took this terrible warrior prisoner, and tied him to a tree; where he hung three days without food or drink. They did not attempt to kill him for fear of offending Hobbamockow; but

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they sold him to the French at a great price. The name of Putnam was more alarming to the Indians than cannon, and they never would fight him after his escape from the falls. He was afterwards redeemed by the English.

Plainfield and *Canterbury* lie on Quinibaug river, opposite to one another, and have much the appearance of Lewisham. Each township is 8 miles square, and forms two parishes.

Voluntown lies on a small river, and, resembles Finchley Common. The township is 15 miles long, and 5 wide, and forms three parishes, one of which is Presbyterian. This sect has met with as little christian charity and humanity in this hair-brain'd county as the Anabaptists, Quakers, and Churchmen. The *Sober Dissenters* of this town, as they stile themselves, will not attend the funeral of a Presbyterian.

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The KINGDOM OF CONNECTICOTE forms two counties, viz. Hertford and Litchfield, which contain about 15,000 houses, and 120,000 inhabitants.

The county of Hertford excels the rest in tobacco, onions, grain of all sorts, hay, and cyder. It contains twenty-one towns, the chief of which I shall describe, comparing the rest to towns near London.

HERTFORD town is deemed the capital of the province: it stands 40 miles from Saybrook, and the same distance from Newhaven, on the west bank of Connecticut river, and is formed into squares. The township is 20 miles from east to west, and six in breadth, comprizing six parishes, one of which is episcopal.

The houses are partly of brick and partly of wood, well built, but, as I have

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observed

observed in general of the towns in Connecticut, do not join. King's-Street is two miles long, and 30 yards wide ; well-paved, and cut in two by a small river, over which is a high bridge. The town is half a mile wide. A grand courthouse, and two elegant meetings, with steeples, bells, and clocks, adorn it. In 1760, a foundation of quarry-stone was laid for an episcopal church in this town, at the expence of near 300*l.* on which occasion the Episcopalians had a mortifying proof that the present inhabitants inherit the spirit of their ancestors. Samuel Talcot, Esq. one of the Judges of the County-Court, with the assistance of a mob, took away the stones, and with them built a house for his son. What added to so meritorious an action was, its being justified by the General Assembly and the Confociation.

In 1652, this town had the *honour* of executing Mrs. Greensmith, the first
witch

witch ever heard of in America. She was accused in the indictment of practising evil things on the body of Ann Cole, which did not appear to be true; but the Reverend Mr. Stone, and other ministers, swore that Greensmith had confessed to them that the devil had had carnal knowledge of her. The court then ordered her to be hanged upon the indictment.—Surely none of those learned divines and statesmen studied in the Temple or Lincoln's-Inn!—It should seem, that every dominion or township was possessed of an ambition to make itself famous in history. The same year, Springfield, not to be outdone by Hertford, brought Hugh Parsons to trial for witchcraft, and the jury found him guilty: but Mr. Pincheon, the judge, had some understanding, and prevented his execution till the matter was laid before the General Court at Boston, who determined that he was not guilty of witchcraft. The truth was,

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Parsons

Parsons was blessed with a fine person and genteel address, insomuch that the women could not help admiring him above every other man in Springfield, and the men could not help hating him:—so that there were witnesses enough to swear that Parsons was a wizard,—because he made females love and males hate him.

In Hertford are the following curiosities: 1. An house built of American oak in 1640, the timbers of which are yet sound, nay almost petrified: in it was born Jonathan Belcher, Esq. Governor of Massachusetts-Bay and New-Jersey.—2. An elm esteemed sacred for being the tree in which their charter was concealed.—3. A wonderful well, which was dug 60 feet deep without any appearance of water, when a large rock was met with. The miners boring this rock, in order to blast it with powder, drove the auger through it, upon which the water

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ter spouted up with such great velocity, that it was with great difficulty the well was stoned. It soon filled and ran over, and has supported, or rather made, a brook for above one hundred years.

The tomb of Mr. Hooker is viewed with great reverence by his disciples. Nathaniel, his great grandson, a minister in Hertford, inherits more than all his virtues, without any of his vices.

Weathersfield is four miles from Hertford, and more compact than any town in the colony. The meeting-house is of brick, with a steeple, bell, and clock. The inhabitants say it is much larger than Solomon's Temple. The township ten miles square; parishes four. The people are more gay than polite, and more superstitious than religious.

This town raises more onions than are consumed in all New-England. It is a rule

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with parents to buy annually a silk gown for each daughter above seven years old, till she is married. The young beauty is obliged, in return, to weed a patch of onions with her own hands ; which she performs in the cool of the morning, before she dresses for her breakfast. This laudable and healthy custom is ridiculed by the ladies in other towns, who idle away their mornings in bed, or in gathering the pink, or catching the butterfly, to ornament their toilets ; while the gentlemen far and near forget not the Weathersfield ladies silken industry.

Weathersfield was settled in 1637, by the Rev. Mr. Smith, and his followers, who left Watertown, near Boston, in order to get out of the power of Mr. Cotton, whose severity in New-England exceeded that of the bishops in Old England. But Mr. Smith did not discard the spirit of persecution as the sole property of Mr. Cotton, but carried with him

him a sufficient quantity of it to distress and divide his little flock.

Middletown is ten miles below *Weathersfield*, and beautifully situated upon the Connecticut, between two small rivers, one mile asunder, which is the length of the town and grand street. Here are an elegant church, with a steeple, bell, clock, and organ; and a large meeting without a steeple. The people are polite, and not much troubled with that fanatic zeal which pervades the rest of the colony. The township is ten miles square, and forms four parishes, one episcopal. This and the two preceding towns may be compared to Chelsea.

The following towns, which lie on Connecticut river, are so much alike, that a description of one will serve for the whole; viz. *Windsor*, *East-Windsor*, *Glastonbury*, *Endfield*, *Suffield*, *Chatham*, *Haddam*, and *East-Haddam*.—*Windsor*, the best, is cut in two by the river *Ett*, which wanders

wanders from the northwest 100 miles through various meadows, towns, and villages, and resembles Bedford. Township ten miles square, forming three parishes. It was settled in 1637, by the Rev. Mr. Huet and his associates, who fled from religious slavery in Boston to enjoy the power of depriving others of liberty.

The following towns, lying back of the river towns, being similar in most respects, I shall join also in one class; viz. *Hebron, Colchester, Bolton, Toland, Stafford, and Sommers.*

Hebron is the center of the province; and it is remarkable that there are 36 towns larger, and 36 less. It is situated between two ponds, about two miles in length, and one in breadth; and is intersected by two small rivers, one of which falls into the Connecticut, the other into the Thames. A large meeting stands on a square, where
four

four roads meet. The town resembles Finchley. The township eight miles square; five parishes, one is episcopal. The number of houses is 400; of the inhabitants 3200. It pays one part out of seventy-three of all governmental taxes; and is a bed of farmers on their own estates. Frequent suits about the Indian titles have rendered them famous for their knowledge in law and self-preservation. In 1740, Mr. George Whitefield gave them this laconic character. "Hebron," says he, "is the strong-hold of Satan; for its people mightily oppose the work of the Lord, being more fond of earth than of heaven."

This town is honoured by the residence of the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Pomeroy; an excellent scholar, an exemplary gentleman, and a most thundering preacher of the new-light order. His great abilities procured him the favour and honour of being the instructor of
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Abimeleck, the present King of Mohegin. He is of a very persevering, sovereign disposition; but just, polite, generous, charitable and without dissimulation.—*Avis alba.*

Here also reside some of the descendants of William Peters, Esq. already spoken of; among whom is the Rev. Samuel Peters, an episcopal clergyman, who, by his generosity and zeal for the Church of England, and loyalty to the House of Hanover, has rendered himself famous both in New and Old England, and in some degree made an atonement for the fanaticism and treasons of his uncle Hugh, and of his ancestor on his mother's side, Major-General Thomas Harrison, both hanged at Charing-Cross in the last century. *See pp. 48—55, note.*

Colchester has to boast of the Rev. John Buckley for its first minister, whose grandfather was the Rev. Peter Buckley, of Woodhill, in Bedfordshire, in Old-
England

England; who, after being silenced by the Bishop for his misconduct, went to New-England in 1635, and died at Concord in 1658.—John Buckley was a great scholar: and, suffering prudence to govern his hard temper, he conciliated the esteem of all parties, and became the ornament of the *Sober Dissenters* in Connecticut. He was a lawyer, a physician, and a divine. He published an ingenious pamphlet to prove that the title of the people to their lands was good, because they had taken them out of the state of nature. His argument satisfied many who thought their titles were neither legal, just, nor scriptural: indeed, it may seem conclusive, if his major proposition be granted, That the English found Connecticut in a state of nature. His son John was a lawyer and physician of great reputation, and was appointed a judge of the superior court very young. He and his father were suspected to be not sound in the faith,

faith, because they used in their prayers, *From battle and murder, and from sudden death, good Lord deliver us, for the sake of thine only son, who commands us thus to pray, Our Father, &c. &c.*——Peter Buckley was possessed of a gentleman's estate in Bedfordshire, which he sold, and spent the produce among his servants in Massachusetts-Bay. His posterity in Colchester, in Connecticut, are very rich, and, till lately, were held in great esteem; which, however, they lost, by conforming to the Church of England.

There is nothing remarkable to be observed of any of the other towns I have classed with Hebron, except Stafford, which possesses a mineral spring that has the reputation of curing the gout, sterility, pulmony, hysterics, &c. &c. and therefore is the New-England *Bath*, where the sick and rich resort to prolong life, and acquire the polite accomplishments.

Her-

Herrington, Farmington, and Symsbury, lying west from Hertford, and on the river Ett, will finish the county of Hertford.

Herrington is ten miles square, and forms two parishes.

Farmington resembles Croydon. The township is fifteen miles square, and forms eight parishes, three of which are episcopal. Here the meadow land is sold at 50*l.* sterling per acre.

Symsbury, with its meadows and surrounding hills, forms a beautiful landscape, much like Maidstone in Kent. The township is 20 miles square, and consists of nine parishes, four of which are episcopal. Here are copper mines. In working one many years ago, the miners bored half a mile through a mountain, making large cells 40 yards below the surface, which now serve as a prison, by order

der of the General Assembly, for such offenders as they chuse not to hang. The prisoners are let down on a windlass into this dismal cavern, through an hole, which answers the triple purpose of conveying them food, air, and—— I was going to say light, but it scarcely reaches them. In a few months the prisoners are released by death and the colony rejoices in her great *humanity*, and the *mildness* of her laws. This conclave of spirits imprisoned may be called, with great propriety, the catacomb of Connecticut. The light of the Sun and the light of the Gospel are alike shut out from the martyrs, whose resurrection-state will eclipse the wonder of that of Lazarus. It has been remarked by the candid part of this religious colony, that the General Assembly and Con-sociation have never allowed any prisoners in the whole province a chaplain, though they have spent much of their time and the public money in spreading the Gospel
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in the neighbouring colonies among the Indians, quakers, and episcopalians, and though, at the same time, those religionists preach damnation to all people who neglect to attend public worship twice every Sabbath, fasting, and thanksgiving day, provided they are appointed by themselves, and not by the King and Parliament of Great Britain. This well-founded remark has been treated by the zealots as springing more from malice than policy.

I beg leave to give the following instances of the *humanity* and *mildness* the province has always manifested for the episcopal clergy :

About 1746, the Rev. Mr. Gibbs, of Symsbury, refusing to pay a rate imposed for the salary of Mr. Mills, a dissenting minister in the same town, was, by the Collector, thrown across a horse, lashed hands and feet under the creature's belly, and carried many miles in that

N *humane*

humane manner to gaol. Mr. Gibbs was half-dead when he got there; and, though he was released by his church-wardens, who, to save his life, paid the assessment, yet, having taken cold in addition to his bruises, he became delirious, and has remained in a state of insanity ever since.

In 1772, the Reverend Mr. Mozley, a Missionary from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, at Litchfield, was presented by the grand jury for marrying a couple belonging to his parish after the banns were duly published, and consent of parents obtained. The Court *mildly* fined Mr. Mozley 20*l.* because he could not shew any other licence to officiate as a clergyman, than what he had received from the Bishop of London, whose authority the Court determined did not extend to Connecticut, which was a chartered government. One of the Judges said, "It is high time to put
" a stop to the usurpations of the Bishop
" of

“ of London, and to let him know, that
 “ though his licence be lawful, and may
 “ impower one of his *curates* to marry in
 “ England, yet it is not so in America ;
 “ and if fines would not curb them in
 “ this point, imprisonment should.”

The second county in the kingdom of Connecticut, and the most mountainous in the whole province, is Litchfield; which produces abundance of wheat, butter, cheese, iron ore, &c. and has many iron-works, founderies, and furnaces. It contains the following 14 towns :

Litchfield is watered by two small rivers. An elegant meeting, and a decent court - house, with steeples and bells, ornament the square, where three roads meet. The best street is one mile long. It resembles Dartford. The township is 12 miles square, and forms five parishes, one of which is episcopal.

Tho' Litchfield is the youngest county

N 2 of

of Connecticut, yet, in 1766, it set an example to the rest worthy of imitation. The province had always been greatly pestered by a generation of men called quacks, who, with a few Indian nostrums, a lancet, a glister-pipe, rhubarb, treacle-water, mixed with Roman bombast of *vena cava* and *vena porta*, attacked fevers, nervous disorders, and broken bones, and, by the grace of perseverance, subdued nature, and helped their patients to a passage to the world of spirits before they were ready. The surgeons and physicians, who were not quacks, formed themselves into a society, for the encouragement of literature and a regular and wholesome practice. But their laudable endeavours were discountenanced by the General Assembly, who refused to comply with their solicitation for a charter ; because the quacks and people said, “ If the charter were granted, the learned men would become too rich
by

by a monopoly, as they had in England." The answer to this objection was, "Would it not be better to permit a monopoly to preserve the health and lives of the people, than to suffer quacks to kill them, and ruin the province?" The reply proved decisive in that fanatical assembly, viz. "No medicine can be serviceable without the blessing of God. The quacks never administer any physic before the minister has prayed for a blessing; whereas the learned doctors say, that the blessing is in their physic, without the prayers of ministers." One doctor proposed the trial of a dose of arsenic; whether it would not kill any-one who would take it, though 20 ministers should pray against it. He was called a profane man—the petition was rejected—and quackery remains triumphant!

New-Milford lies on Ofootonoc river.
A church and meeting, with steeples
N 3 and

and bells, beautify the town, which resembles Fulham. The township, twelve miles square, forms five parishes, of which two are episcopal.

Woodbury lies on the same river, and resembles Kentish-Town. The township, twelve miles square, is divided into seven parishes, three of them episcopal.—In this town lives the Rev. Dr. Bellamy, who is a good scholar, and a great preacher. He has attempted to shew a more excellent way to heaven than was known before. He may be called the *Athenian* of Connecticut; for he has published something new to the christian world—Zuinglius may learn of him.

The following towns lie also on the Osootonoc, viz. *S Sharon*, *Kent*, *Salisbury*, *New-Fairfield*, *Cornwall*, *Goshen*, and *Canaan*; and all of them resemble Finchley. Each township is ten miles square.—
S Sharon

Sharon forms three parishes, one of which is episcopal. It is much noted on account of a famous mill, invented and built by Mr. Joel Harvey, upon his own estate; for which he received a compliment of 20*l.* from the Society of Arts in London. The water, by turning one wheel, sets the whole in motion. In two apartments wheat is ground; in two others, bolted; in another threshed; in a sixth, winnowed; in the seventh hemp and flax are beaten, and in the eighth dressed. Either branch is discontinued at pleasure, without impeding the rest.

The other towns in Litchfield county are, *New-Hertford*, *Torrington*, *Hartland*, and *Winchester*, all which lie on the river E^tt. The townships are severally about six miles square, and each forms one parish.

THE KINGDOM OF QUINNIPIOG constitutes the Dominion of Newhaven,

N 4 divided

divided into two counties, viz. Newhaven and Fairfield; these again divided into 17 townships, about 12 miles square each. The number of houses is nearly 10,000, and that of the inhabitants 60,000.

The county of Newhaven is hilly, and has a thin soil, enriched, however, by the industry of its inhabitants. The chief commodities are, flax, rye, barley, white beans, and salt-hay. It contains eight towns; four of which lie on the Sound, and the other on the back of them.

Newhaven township comprizes fourteen parishes; three of them episcopal, and one Sandemanian. The town, being the most beautiful in New-England, if not in all America, is entitled to a minute description. It is bounded southerly by the bay into which the river Quinnipiack empties itself; easterly and westerly, by two creeks two miles asunder; and, northerly, by a lofty mountain, that extends

tends even to the river St. Laurence, and forms a high land between the rivers Hudson and Connecticut; standing in a plain three miles by two in extent. This plain is divided into 300 squares, of the size of Bloomsbury-square, with streets 20 yards wide between each division. Forty of these squares are already built upon, having houses of brick and wood on each front, about five yards asunder; every house with a garden that produces vegetables sufficient for the family. Two hundred houses are annually erected. Elms and button-trees surround the center square, wherein are two meetings, the court-house, the jail, and Latin school;—in the fronts of the adjoining squares are, Yale College, the chapel, a meeting, and a church;—all these grand buildings, with steeples and bells. The market is plentifully supplied with every necessary during the whole year, excepting greens in winter. But the harbour
is

is incommoded by flats near the town, of one mile in width, and by ice in winter. The former evil is, in some measure remedied by long and expensive wharves; but the latter is incurable. The people, however, say their trade is greater than that of Norwich or New-London; and their shipping, of different burthens, consists of near 200 sail.

According to Dr. Mather, Newhaven was, about 1646, to have been made a city, the interest of the colony with Cromwell's party being then very great; but a wonderful phenomenon prevented it. As the good Dr. Mather never wanted faith through the whole course of his *magnalia*, and as the New-Englanders, to the present time, believe his reports, I will here present my readers with the history of this miracle:

“ The people of Newhaven fitted out a ship, and sent her richly laden for England, to procure a patent for the colony,
and

and a charter for the city.—After the ship had been at sea some weeks, there happened in New-England a violent storm, which induced the people of Newhaven to fast and pray, to inquire of the Lord whether their ship was in that storm, or not. This was a real fast; for the people neither eat nor drank from sun-rise till sun-set. At five o'clock in the afternoon, they came out of meeting, walking softly, heavily, and sadly, homewards. On a sudden the *air thundered*, and the *lightnings shone abroad*. They looked up towards the heavens, when they beheld their ship under full sail, and the sailors steering her from west to east. She came over the meeting where they had fasted and prayed, and then was met by an euroclydon, which rent the sails, and overset the ship—in a few moments she fell down near the weather-cock on the steeple, and instantly vanished. The people all returned to the meeting, where

where the minister gave thanks to God, for answering the desires of his servants, and for giving them an infallible token of the loss of their ship and charter."

This, and divers other miracles which have happened in New-England, have been, and still are, useful to the clergy in establishing the people in the belief that there is a great familiarity between God and their ministers. Hence the ministers govern the superstitious; whilst the deacon, the lawyer, and the merchant, for lucre, wink at the imposition—yet the ministers in their turn are governed by their abettors. The case, upon the whole, is this: the ministers govern a multitude of fools, and are themselves governed by knaves.

———Thou genius of adventure! that carriedst Columbus from eastern to the western shores, the domain of savage beasts and savage men, now cursed with the demons of superstition and fanaticism,
oh!

oh ! kindle in no other breast the wish to seek new worlds :—Africa already mourns, and Europe trembles !——

The true character of Davenport and Eaton, the leaders of the first settlers of Newhaven, may be learnt from the following fact :—An English gentleman, of the name of Grigson, coming, on his travels, to Newhaven, about the year 1644, was greatly pleased with its pleasant situation ; and, after purchasing a large settlement, sent to London for his wife and family. But before their arrival, he found that a charming situation, without the blessing of religious and civil liberty, would not render him and his family happy : he resolved, therefore, to quit the country, and return to England, as soon as his family should arrive, and accordingly advertised his property for sale ; when lo ! agreeable to one of the Blue Laws, no one would buy, because he had not, and could not obtain liberty
of

of the selectmen to sell it. The patriotic virtue of the selectmen thus becoming an insurmountable bar to the sale of his Newhaven estate, Mr. Grigson made his will, and bequeathed part of his lands towards the support of an episcopal clergyman, who should reside in that town, and the residue to his own heirs. Having deposited his will in the hands of a friend, he set sail, with his family, for England, but died on his passage. This friend proved the will, and had it recorded, but died also soon after. The record was dexterously concealed by glueing two leaves together; and, after some years, the selectmen sold the whole estate to pay taxes, though the rent of Mr. Grigson's house alone in one year would pay the taxes for ten. Some persons, hardy enough to exclaim against this glaring injustice, were soon silenced, and expelled the town. In 1750, an episcopal clergyman was settled in Newhaven; and, having been informed

informed of Mr. Grigson's will, applied to the town-clerk for a copy, who told him there was no such will on record, and withal refused him the liberty of searching. In 1768, Peter Harrison, Esq. from Nottinghamshire, in England, the King's collector at the port of New-haven, claimed his right of searching public records; and, being a stranger, and not supposed to have any knowledge of Grigson's will, obtained his demand.—The alphabet contained Grigson's name, and referred to a page which was not to be found in the book. Mr. Harrison at first supposed it to have been torn out; but, on a closer examination, discovered one leaf much thicker than the others. He put a corner of the thick leaf into his mouth, and soon found it was composed of two leaves, which with much difficulty having separated, he found Grigson's will! To make sure work, he took a copy of it himself, and then called the clerk to draw
and

and attest another; which was done. Thus furnished, Mr. Harrison instantly applied to the selectmen, and demanded a surrender of the land which belonged to the church, but which they as promptly refused; whereupon Mr. Harrison took out writs of ejectment against the possessors. As might be expected, Mr. Harrison, from a good man, became, in ten days, the worst man in the world; but, being a generous and brave Englishman, he valued not their clamours and curses, though they terrified the gentlemen of the law. Harrison was obliged to be his own lawyer, and boldly declared he expected to lose his cause in New-England; but after that he would appeal, and try it, at his own expence, in Old England, where justice reigned. The good people, knowing Harrison did not get his bread by their votes, and that they could not baffle him, resigned the lands to the church on that gentleman's own terms; which in
a few

a few years will support a clergyman in a very genteel manner. The honest selectmen yet possess the other lands, though report says Mr. Grigson has an heir of his own name, residing near Holborn, in London, who inherits the virtues of his ancestor, and ought to inherit his estate.

The sad and awful discovery of Mr. Grigson's will, after having been concealed above 100 years, would have confounded any people but those of Newhaven, who study nothing but religion and liberty. Those pious souls consoled themselves by comparison: "We are no worse," said they, "than the people of Boston and Windham county." The following fact will explain this justification of the faints of Newhaven:

In 1740, Mrs. Cursette, an English lady, travelling from New-York to Boston, was obliged to stay some days at Hebron; where, seeing the church not finished, and the church-people suffering

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fering great persecutions, she told them to persevere in their good work, and she would send them a present when she got to Boston. Soon after her arrival there, Mrs. Cursfette fell sick and died. In her will she gave a legacy of 300*l.* old tenor (then equal to 100*l.* sterling) to the church of England in Hebron; and appointed John Hancock, Esq. and Nathaniel Glover, her executors. Glover was also her residuary legatee. The will was obliged to be recorded in Windham county, because some of Mrs. Cursfette's lands lay there. Glover sent the will by Deacon S—H—, of Canterbury, ordering him to get it recorded, and keep it private, lest the legacy should build up the church. The Deacon and Register were faithful to their trust, and kept Glover's secret *twenty-five* years. At length the Deacon was taken ill, and his life was supposed in great danger. Among his penitential confessions, he told of his having concealed

Mrs.

Mrs. Cursfette's will. His confident went to Hebron, and informed the wardens, that for one guinea he would discover a secret of 300*l.* old tenor consequence to the Church. The guinea was paid, and the secret disclosed. A demand of the legacy ensued. Mr. Hancock referred to Glover; and Glover said he was neither obliged to publish the will, nor pay the legacy: it had lapsed to the heir at law. It being difficult for a Connecticut man to recover a debt in the Massachusetts-Bay, and *vice versa*, the wardens were obliged to accept from Mr. Glover 30*l.* instead of 300*l.* sterling; which sum, allowing 200*l.* as lawful simple interest at six per cent. for 25 years, ought in equity to have been paid.—This matter, however, Mr. Glover is to settle with Mrs. Cursfette in the other world.

Newhaven is celebrated for having given the name of *pumkin-heads* to all the New-Englanders. It originated from the Blue

Laws, which enjoin every male to have his hair cut round by a cap. When caps were not to be had, they substituted the hard shell of a pumkin, which being put on the head every Saturday, the hair is cut by it all round the head. Whatever religious virtue is supposed to be derived from this custom, I know not; but there is much prudence in it: first, it prevents the hair from snarling;—secondly, it saves the use of combs, bags, and ribbons;—thirdly, the hair cannot incommode the eyes by falling over them;—and, fourthly, such persons as have lost their ears for heresy, and other wickedness, cannot conceal their misfortune and disgrace.

Cruelty and godliness were, perhaps, never so well reconciled by any people, as by those of Newhaven, who are alike renowned for both. The unhappy story of Deacon Potter has eternized the infamy of their Blue Laws, and almost annexed

nexed to their town the name of Sodom. The Deacon had borne the best of characters many years: he was the peacemaker, and an enemy to persecution; but he was grown old, was rich, and had a young wife. His young wife had an inclination for a young husband, and had waited with impatience for the death of her old one, till at length, resolving, if possible, to accelerate the attainment of her wishes, she complained to the Magistrate, that her husband did not render her due benevolence. The Judge took no notice of what she said. She then swore that her husband was an apostate; and that he was fonder of his mare, bitch, and cow, than of her; in which allegations she was joined by her son. The Deacon was brought to his trial, condemned, executed with the beasts, and with them also buried in one common grave. Dr. Mather, with his usual quantity of faith, speaks of the Deacon as verily

O 3 guilty,

guilty, as having had a fair, legal, and candid trial, and convicted on good and scriptural evidence. I am willing to allow the Doctor as much sincerity as faith. He had his information from the party who condemned the Deacon; but there are manuscripts, which I have seen, that state the matter thus: Deacon Potter was hanged for heresy and apostacy, which consisted in shewing hospitality to strangers, who came to his house in the night, among whom were Quakers, Anabaptists, and Adamites. This was forbidden by the Blue Laws, which punished for the first and second offence with fines, and with death for the third. His wife and son betrayed him for hiding the spies, and sending them away in peace. The court was contented with calling his complicated crimes beastiality; his widow, with a new husband; and the son, with the estate; while the public were deceived by the arts of a wicked junto.—I have related

related this story to shew the danger of admitting a wife to give evidence against her husband, according to the Blue Laws; and to caution all readers against crediting too much the historians of New-England, who, either from motives of fear or emolument, have, in numberless instances, designedly disguised or concealed the truth. Such persons, whose stubborn principles would not bend to this yoke, were not suffered to search the colonial records; and those who have dared to intimate that all was not right among the first settlers, have been compelled to leave the country with the double loss of character and property.

To Newhaven now belongs YALE COLLEGE, of which I have promised my readers a particular account. It was originally, as already mentioned, a school, established by the Rev. Thomas Peters, at Saybrook, who left it his library at his death. It soon acquired the distinguish-

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ing appellation of *Schola Illustris*; and, about 1700, was honoured by the General Assembly with a charter of incorporation, converting it into a college, under the denomination of *Yale College*, in compliment to a gentleman of that name, governor of one of the West-India islands, and its greatest benefactor. The charter constitutes a president, three tutors, twelve overseers, and a treasurer; and exempts it from any visitation of the Governor or Assembly, in order to secure it against the controul of a King's Governor, in case one should ever be appointed. I have already observed, that a power of conferring Bachelors and Masters degrees was granted by the charter; and that the corporation have *thought proper* to assume that of conferring Doctors degrees. By the æconomical regulations of the College, there are, a professor in divinity, mathematics, and natural philosophy; and four classes of students, which were
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at first attended by the president and the three tutors; but the president has long been excused that laborious task, and a fourth tutor appointed in his stead. Each class has its proper tutor. Once a week the president examines them all in the public hall, superintends their disputations and scientific demonstrations, and, if any student appears to be negligent, orders him under the care of a special tutor; a stigma which seldom fails of producing its intended effect. Greek, Latin, Geography, History, and Logic, are well taught in this seminary; but it suffers for want of tutors to teach the Hebrew, French, and Spanish languages. Oratory, music, and politeness, are equally neglected here and in the colony. The students attend prayers, every morning and evening, at six o'clock. The president, professor, or one of the tutors, reads and expounds a chapter; then a psalm is sung, after which follows a prayer. This finished,
each



each class repairs to its tutor. The hours of study are notified by the College bell, and every scholar seen out of his room is liable to a fine, which is seldom excused. The amusements for the evenings are, not cards, dancing, or music, but reading and composition. They are allowed two hours play with the foot-ball every day. Thus cooped up for four years, they understand books better than men or manners. They then are admitted to their Bachelors degree, having undergone a public examination in the arts and sciences. Three years afterwards they are admitted to their Masters degree, provided they have supported moral characters. The ceremony used by the president on these occasions is to deliver a book to the intended Master in Arts, saying, "*Admitto te ad secundum Gradum in Artibus, pro more Academicarum in Anglia; tradoque tibi hunc librum, unâ cum potestate publicè prælegendi quotiescunque*"

“cunque ad hoc munus evocatus fueris.”

For Bachelors the same, *mutatis mutandis*.

A diploma on vellum with the seal of the College is given to each Master, and signed by the president and six fellows or overseers. The first degrees of Masters were given in 1702. The students of late years have amounted to about 180. They dine in the common-hall at four tables, and the tutors and graduates at a fifth. The number of the whole is about 200.

Yale College is built with wood, and painted of a sky colour ; is 160 feet long, and three stories high, besides garrets. In 1754, another building, of brick, 100 feet long, and also three stories high, exclusive of the garrets, with double rooms and a double front, was added, and called Connecticut Hall. About 1760, a very elegant chapel and library were erected, with brick, under one roof. But it cannot be supposed the latter is to
be

be compared with the Vatican or Bodleian. It consists of 8 or 10,000 volumes in all branches of literature, but wants modern books; though there is a tolerable sufficiency, if the corporation would permit what they call Bishops and Arminian books to be read. *Ames's Medulla* is allowed, while *Grotius de Veritate Religionis* is denied. It was lately presented with a new and valuable apparatus for experimental philosophy. The whole library and apparatus were given by various persons, chiefly English.

The General Assembly have endowed this College with large tracts of land, which, duly cultivated, will soon support the ample establishment of an University; but, even at present, I may truly say, Yale College exceeds in the number, and perhaps in the learning, of its scholars, all others in British America.

This seminary was, in 1717, removed from Saybrook to Newhaven; the extraordinary

ordinary cause of which transition, I shall here lay before the reader.

Saybrook dominion had been settled by Puritans of some moderation and decency. They had not joined with Massachusetts-Bay, Hertford, and Newhaven, in sending home agents to assist in the murder of Charles I. and the subversion of the Lords and Bishops:—they had received Hooker's heretics, and sheltered the apostates from Davenport's millenarian system:—they had shewn an inclination to be dependent on the Mother-country, and had not wholly anathematized the church of England. In short, the people of Hertford and Newhaven suspected that Saybrook was not truly protestant; that it had a passion for the *leeks and onions of Egypt*; and that the youth belonging to them in the *Schola Illustris* were in great danger of imbibing its lukewarmness. A vote, therefore, passed at Hertford, to remove the

the college to Weathersfield, where the *leaks and onions of Egypt* would not be thought of; and another at Newhaven, that it should be removed to that town, where Christ had established his dominion from sea to sea, and where he was to begin his millenarian reign. About 1715, Hertford, in order to carry its vote into execution, prepared teams, boats, and a mob, and privately set off for Saybrook, and seized upon the college apparatus, library, and students, and carried all to Weathersfield. This redoubled the jealousy of the saints at Newhaven, who thereupon determined to fulfil their vote; and, accordingly, having collected a mob sufficient for their enterprize, they set out for Weathersfield, where they seized by surprize the students, library, &c. &c. But on the road to Newhaven they were overtaken by the Hertford mob, who, however, after an unhappy battle, were obliged to retire with only part of the library

brary and part of the students. Hence sprung two colleges out of one. The quarrel increased daily, every body expecting a war more bloody than that of Saffacus; and, no doubt, such would have been the case, had not the peace-makers of Massachusetts-Bay interposed with their usual friendship, and advised their dear friends of Hertford to give up the college to Newhaven. This was accordingly done in 1717, to the great joy of the crafty Massachusetts, who always greedily seek their own prosperity, tho' it ruin their best neighbours. The college being thus fixed forty miles farther west from Boston than it was before, tended greatly to the interest of Harvard College; for Saybrook and Hertford, out of *pure grief* *, sent their sons to Harvard, instead of the college at Newhaven. This quarrel con-

* *Pure grief* means, in New-England, *anger* and *revenge*.

tinued

tinued till 1764, when it subsided in a grand continental confociation of ministers, which met at Newhaven to consult the spiritual good of the Mohawks and other Indian tribes, the best method of preserving the American vine, and the protestant, *independent liberty of America* : —a good preparatory to rebellion against Great Britain.

The Rev. Mr. Naphthali Dagget is the fourth president of Yale College since its removal to Newhaven. He is an excellent Greek and Latin scholar, and reckoned a good Calvinistic divine. Tho' a stranger to European politeness, yet, possessing a mild temper and affable disposition, the exercise of his authority is untinctured with haughtiness. Indeed, he seems to have too much candour, and too little bigotry, to please the corporation, and retain his post, many years.

The Rev. Mr. Nehemiah Strong, the college professor, is also of an amiable

able temper, and merits the appointment.

Were the corporation less rigid, and more inclined to tolerate some reasonable amusements and polite accomplishments among the youth, they would greatly add to the fame and increase of the college; and the students would not be known by every stranger to have been educated in Connecticut. The disadvantage under which they at present appear, from the want of address, is much to be regretted.

Brainford, Guildford, and Milford, are much alike.

Guildford is laid out in squares after the manner of Newhaven, 20 of which are built upon. The church and two meetings stand on the center square. One of the meetings is very grand, with a steeple, bell, and clock. The parishes in it are eight, three of them episcopal.

This town gave birth to the Reverend
P Samuel.

Samuel Johnson, D. D. who was the first episcopal minister in Connecticut, and the first president of King's College in New-York. He was educated and became a tutor in the college at Saybrook; was an ornament to his native country, and much esteemed for his humanity and learning.

The Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, in a sermon he preached in the great meeting, gave the character of the people of Guildford in 1740. His text was, *Anoint mine eyes with eye-salve*. After pointing out what was *not* the true eye-salve, he said, " I will tell you what *is* the true " eye-salve :—it is faith—it is grace—it " is simplicity—it is virtue—it is virgin's " water——Ah, Lord! where can " they be found?—Perhaps, not in this " grand assembly."

I have frequently quoted the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield,—without that ludicrous intention which, possibly, the reader may

may suspect me of. I admire his general character, his great discernment, his knowledge of mankind, his piety, his goodness of heart, his generosity, and hatred of persecution, though I think his zeal was sometimes too fervent. I ever viewed him as an instrument of heaven, as the greatest Boanarges and blessing America ever knew. He turned the profligate to God; he roused the lukewarm christian; he tamed the wild fanatic, and made Felix tremble. It is true, he has also made wisemen mad; but this is the natural effect of the word, which is the favour of life and the favour of death at one and the same time. New-England, before his coming, was but the slaughter-house for heretics. He was admired by the oppressed episcopalians, the trembling quakers, the bleeding baptists, &c. &c. He was followed by all sects and parties, except the *Sober Dissenters*, who thought their craft in danger. He made peace

where was no peace; and even his enemies praised him in the gate.—Whitefield did what could not have been done without the aid of an omnipotent arm; he planted charity in New-England, of which the increase has been a thousand fold.—He is landed *where the wicked cease from troubling*; where his works of faith, love, and charity, cloath him; and where the Glory of Eternity blesses him with a welcome ineffably transporting.—May his virtues be imitated; his imperfections forgiven; and his happiness obtained by all!—

Wallingford, Durham, Waterbury, and Darby, finish the county of Newhaven.—*Wallingford* is the best of the four: it lies on Quinnipiack river, and forms eight parishes, two of which are episcopal. The Town-street is one mile long, and the houses stand pretty thick on both sides. The church, and two meetings, one with a steeple, bell, and clock, stand in the middle

“ Here lies the body of Corporal Moses Atwater,
“ who left England in 1660, to enjoy liberty
“ of conscience in a howling wilderness.”

Stratford lies on the west bank of Osootnoc river, having the sea or Sound on the south. There are three streets run-

ning

ning north and south, and ten east and west. The best is one mile long. On the center square stand a meeting with a steeple and bell, and a church with a steeple, bell, clock, and organ. It is a beautiful place, and from the water has an appearance not inferior to that of Canterbury. Of six parishes contained in it, three are episcopal. The people are said to be the most polite of any in the colony, owing to the singular moderation of the town in admitting, latterly, Europeans to settle among them. Many persons come also from the islands, and southern provinces, for the benefit of their health.

Here was erected the first episcopal church in Connecticut. A very extraordinary story is told concerning the occasion of it, which I shall give the reader the particulars of, the people being as sanguine in their belief of it as they are of the ship's sailing over Newhaven.

An ancient religious rite, called the
Pawwaw,

Pawwaw, was annually celebrated by the Indians; and commonly lasted several hours every night for two or three weeks. About 1690, they convened to perform it on Stratford point, near the town. During the nocturnal ceremony, the English saw, or imagined they saw, devils rise out of the sea wrapped up in sheets of flame, and flying round the Indian camp, while the Indians were screaming, cutting, and prostrating themselves before their supposed fiery gods. In the midst of the tumult, the devils darted in among them, seized several, and mounted with them into the air; the cries and groans issuing from whom quieted the rest. In the morning, the limbs of Indians, all shrivelled, and covered with sulphur, were found in different parts of the town. Astonished and terrified at these spectacles, the people of Stratford began to think the devils would take up their abode among them, and called together all the mini-

sters in the neighbourhood, to exorcise and lay them. The ministers began and carried on their warfare with prayer, hymns, and abjuration; but the pawwaws continued, and the devils would not obey. The inhabitants were about to quit the town, when Mr. Nell spoke and said, "I would to God that Mr. Visey, the episcopal minister at New-York, was here; for he would expel all these evil spirits." They laughed at his advice; but, on his reminding them of the little maid who directed Naaman to a cure for his leprosy, they voted him their permission to bring Mr. Visey at the next pawwaw. Mr. Visey attended accordingly, and as the pawwaw commenced with howlings and hoops, Mr. Visey read portions of the holy scripture, litany, &c. The sea was put into great motion; the pawwaw stopped; the Indians dispersed; and never more held a pawwaw in Stratford. The inhabitants
were

were struck with wonder at this event, and held a conference to discover the reason why the devils and pawwawers had obeyed the prayers of one minister, and had paid no regard to those of fifty. Some thought that the reading the holy scripture, others that the litany and Lord's prayer,—some again that the episcopal power of the minister, and others that all united were the means of obtaining the heavenly blessing they had received. Those who believed that the holy scriptures and litany were effectual against the devil and his legions, declared for the church of England; while the majority ascribed their deliverance to a complot between the devil and the episcopal minister, with a view to overthrow Christ's vine planted in New-England. Each party acted with more zeal than prudence. The church, however, increased, though oppressed by more persecutions and calamities than were ever experienced by puritans

ritans from bishops and pawwawers. Even the use of the Bible, the Lord's prayer, the litany, or any part of the prayer-book, was forbidden; nay, ministers taught from their pulpits, according to the Blue Laws, "that the lovers of Zion had better put their ears to the mouth of hell, and learn from the whispers of the devils, than read the bishops books;" while the churchmen, like Michael the archangel contending with the devil about the body of Moses, dared not bring against them a railing accusation.—But this was not all. When the episcopalians had collected timber for a church, they found the devils had not left the town, but only changed their habitations—had left the savages and entered into fanatics and wood. In the night before the church was to be begun, the timber set up a country-dance, skipping about, and flying in the air, with as much agility and sulphureous stench as ever

ever the devils had exhibited around the camp of the Indian pawwawers. This alarming circumstance would have ruined the credit of the church, had not the episcopalians ventured to look into the phenomenon, and found the timber to have been bored with augers, charged with gun-powder, and fired off by matches :— a discovery, however, of bad consequence in one respect---it has prevented the annalists of New-England from publishing this among the rest of their miracles. About 1720, the patience and sufferings of the episcopalians, who were then but a handful, procured them some friends even among their persecutors ; and those friends condemned the cruelty exercised over the churchmen, quakers, and anabaptists, in consequence of which they first felt the effects of those gentle weapons, the New-England whisperings and backbitings ; and at length were openly stigmatized as Arminians and enemies of the

the American vine.—This conduct of the *Sober Dissenters* increased the *grievous sin* of moderation ; and near twenty of their ministers, at the head of whom was Dr. Cutler, president of Yale College, declared, on a public commencement, for the church of England. Hereupon, the General Assembly and Consociation, finding their comminations likely to blast the American vine, instantly had recourse to flattery, larded over with tears and promises, by which means they recovered all the secessors, but four, viz. Dr. Cutler, Dr. Johnson, Mr. Whitmore, and Mr. Brown, who repaired to England for holy orders. —Dr. Cutler had the misfortune to spend his life and great abilities in the fanatical, ungrateful, and factious town of Boston, where he went through fiery trials, shining brighter and brighter, till he was delivered from New-England persecution, and landed where *the wicked cease from troubling*.—Dr. Johnson, from his natural

ral disposition, and not for the sake of gain, took pity on the neglected church at Stratford, where for 50 years he fought the beast of Ephesus with great success. The Doctor was under the bountiful protection of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, incorporated by William III. to save from the rage of republicanism, heathenism, and fanaticism, all such members of the church of England as were settled in our American colonies, factories and plantations, beyond the sea.—To the foresight of that monarch, to the generous care and protection of that society, under God, are owing all the loyalty, decency, christianity undefiled with blood, which glimmer in New-England.—Dr. Johnson, having settled at Stratford among a nest of zealots, and not being assassinated, other dissenting ministers were induced to join themselves to the church of England, among whom were Mr. Beach and Mr. Punderson.

Punderfon. Those gentlemen could not be wheedled off by the Assembly and Confociation; they persevered, and obtained names among the Literati that will never be forgotten.

The four remaining towns of Fairfield county, viz. *Newtown, Reading, Danbury,* and *Ridgfield*, lie behind the towns on the sea. I shall describe the best of them, which is,

Danbury. It has much the appearance of Croydon; and forms five parishes, one of which is episcopal, and another Sandemanian; a third is called Bastard Sandemanian, because the minister refuses to put away his wife, who is a second wife. This town was the residence, and has now the tomb, of the learned and ingenious Rev. Mr. Sandeman, well known in the literary world. He was the fairest and most candid Calvinist that ever wrote in the English language, allowing the natural consequences of all his propositions.

fitions. He taught that a Bishop must be the husband of one wife; that is, he must be married before he was ordained; and, if he lost his wife, he could not marry a second: that a Bishop might dress with ruffles, a red coat and sword; that all the converted brothers and sisters, at their coming into church, ought to salute with an holy kiss; that all true christians would obey their earthly king: for which tenets, especially the last, the *Sober Dissenters* of Connecticut held him to be an heretic.

It is strikingly remarkable, that near one half of the people of the Dominion of Newhaven are episcopalians, though it was first settled by the most violent of puritans, who claimed so much liberty to themselves that they left none for others. The General Assembly computed that the church of England professors amounted to one-third of the whole colony in 1770.

Hence

Hence has arisen a question, how it came pass, that the church of England increased rapidly in Connecticut, and but slowly in Massachusetts-Bay and Rhode-Island? The reason appears obvious to me. It is easier to turn fanatical farmers from their bigotry, than to convert fanatical merchants, smugglers, and fishermen. Pride and gain prevent the two first, and ignorance the last, from *worshiping the Lord in the beauty of Holiness*. The General Assembly of Rhode-Island never supported any religion; nay, lest religion should chance to prevail, they made a law that every-one might do what was right in his own eyes, with this proviso, that no one should be holden to pay a note, bond, or vote, made or given to support the Gospel. Thus, barbarism, inhumanity, and infidelity, must have over-run the colony, had not its good situation for trade invited Europeans to settle therein.—As to the people of Massachusetts-

sachusets-Bay, they, indeed, had the highest pretensions to religion ; but then it was so impregnated with chicane, mercantile policy, and insincerity, that infidelity got the better of fanaticism, and religion was secretly looked upon as a trick of state. Connecticut was settled by people who preferred the arts and sciences to the amusements which render Europe polite ; whence it has happened that there boys and girls are at once amused and improved with reading, writing, and cyphering, every winter's night, whilst those in the neighbouring colonies polish themselves at cards, balls, and masquerades. In Connecticut, zeal, though erroneous, is sincere : each sect believes religion to be a substantial good ; and fanaticism and prejudice have turned it into superstition, which is stronger than reason or the laws of humanity. Thus, it is very observable, that, when any persons conform to the church of England, they

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leave neither their superstition nor zeal at the meetings; they retrench only fanaticism and cruelty, put on *bowels of mercy*, and pity those in error. It should be added, that every town in the colony is by law obliged to support a grammar-school, and every parish an English school. From experience, therefore, I judge, that superstition with knowledge and sincerity is more favourable to religion than superstition with ignorance and insincerity; and that it is for this reason the church thrives in Connecticut, and exists only in the other New-England provinces. In further support of my opinion, I shall recite the words of the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, in his first tour through America, in 1740. He then found the people of Connecticut wise in polemical divinity, and told them that *much learning had made them mad*; that he wished to leave them with, “*sleep on and take your rest*”
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in the Bible, in Baxter, Gouge, and Bunyan, without the knowledge of Bishops books."

Persons who suppose churchmen in Connecticut possessed of less zeal and sincerity than the various sects among the dissenters, are under a mistake; for they have voluntarily preferred the church under every human discouragement, and suffered persecution rather than persecute. Conducting themselves upon this truly christian, though impolitic principle, they have, in the space of sixty years, humanized above sixty thousand puritans, who had ever been hating and persecuting one another: and though the General Assembly and Consociation are alarmed at the progress of christian moderation, yet many individuals among them, perceiving that persecution declines wherever the church prevails, bless God for its growth; whilst the rest, more zealous for dominion, and the politics of their an-

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cestors the regicides, than for the gospel of peace and love, compass sea and land to export and diffuse that intolerant spirit which overthrew the eastern church, and has cursed the western. For this purpose, they have sent New-England ministers as missionaries to the southern colonies, to rouse them out of their religious and political ignorance; and, what is very astonishing, they succeeded best with the episcopal clergy, whose immorality, vanity, or love of self-government, or some less valuable principle, induced them to join the dissenters of New-England against an American Bishop, from a pure intention, they said, of preserving the church of England in America. If their reward be not pointed out in the fable of the Fox and Crane, they will be more fortunate than most men. Other missionaries were dispersed among the Six Nations of Indians, who were under the care of the clergy and schoolmasters of the Society for the Propagation.

pagation of the Gospel. There, for a time, wonders were effected; the Indians were made drunk with zeal. But when their fanaticism was abated, they cursed the protestant religion, and ordered the ministers of all denominations to depart out of their country in a fixed time, on pain of death. Another band of saints went to Nova Scotia, to convert the unconverted under the clergy appointed by the Bishop of London; among whom, however, meeting with little encouragement, they *shook off the dust of their feet against them*, and returned home. These peregrinations, the world was taught to believe, were undertaken solely to advance the interests of religion; but *righteousness and PEACE have not yet kissed each other* in New-England: and, besides, the pious pretences of the *Sober Dissenters* ill accorded with their bitter revilings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, for sending clergymen to promote the

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spiritual good of the churchmen among them.

It is worthy of especial notice, that, among all the episcopal clergy hitherto settled in Connecticut, only one of them has been accused, even by their enemies, of a scandalous life, or of any violation of the moral law. They have exercised more patience, resignation, and self-denial, under their various trials, fatigues, and oppressions, than can be paralleled elsewhere in the present century. The countenance of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign Parts, and an allowance of about 650*l.* per ann. between 18 of them, have proved the means of averting from the professors of the church of England that rigour which has constantly marked the conduct of the General Assembly and Confociation towards anabaptists, quakers, &c. &c. Had the bishops shewn as much concern for the welfare of the church of England
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in America as the Society has done, they would have prevented many reproaches being cast upon them by the dissenters as hireling shepherds, and have secured the affections of the American clergy, in every province, to themselves, to their King, and the British government. If the religion of the church of England ought to have been tolerated and supported in America, (which, considering the lukewarmness of the bishops in general, even since the Restoration of Charles II. seems to have been a dubious point,) policy and justice should long ago have induced the King and Parliament of Great-Britain to have sent bishops to America, that churchmen might at least have been upon an equal footing with dissenters. Against American bishops I have never heard of any objection, either from the dissenters, or the episcopal clergy south of Delaware river, so powerful as the following, " That the church of Eng-

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land increafes in America, without bifhops, fafter than it does in England, where are bifhops to fpare." If the diffenters in America err not in advancing as a fact, that, fince 1715, the church of England under bifhops has been upon the decline, and the proteftant diffenters upon the increafe, in England; it may be but natural to fuppofe that the diffenters in America wifh to have the Englifh bifhops refident there, and the diffenters in England to retain them, as they appear to be fo beneficial towards the growth of the diffenting intereft here: and fo the diffenters in both countries difputing about the refidence of the bifhops, merely becaufe the abfence of them is difadvantageous to the one, and their prefence advantageous to the other, would it not be the beft way of ftrengthening the intereft of both thofe parties, and weakening that of the church of England, to retain half the bifhops in England,

England, and send the other half to America? Against this plan, surely, no dissenter could object: it will neither add to the national expence, nor to the disadvantage of England or America; since it promises to be equally serviceable to the protestant dissenting interest on both sides the Atlantic, and will reconcile a difference between the protestant dissenters that has been supposed in New-England to be the reason of bishops not being sent to above one million of episcopalians in America, who are left like sheep in a wilderness without a shepherd, to the great danger of the protestant dissenting religion in those parts. Nor can it be apprehended that this plan of dividing the bishops will meet with the disapprobation of the episcopalians, except a few licentious clergymen in the American southern colonies, who dread their Lordships sober advice and coercive power.

Of all the wonders of the English
church,

church, the greatest is, that the rulers of it should hold episcopacy to be an institution of Christ, and that the Gospel is to be spread among all nations, and, at the same time, should refuse the American churchmen a bishop, and the fanatics and heathen all opportunities of enjoying the Gospel dispensation in the purity and lustre with which it shines in the mother-country. If bishops are necessary, let America have them ; if they are not necessary, let them be extirpated from the face of the earth : for no one can be an advocate for their existence merely for the support of pomp, pride, and insolence, either in England or America.

The English and Dutch have always kept their colonies under a state of religious persecution, while the French and Spaniards have acted with generosity in that respect towards theirs. The Dutch presbyterians in New-York were held in subordination to the classis of Amsterdam, till,

till, a few years since, they discovered that subjection to be anticonstitutional and oppressive ; upon which a majority of the ministers, in their cœtus, erected a classis for the ordination of ministers, and the government of their churches, in defiance of the ecclesiastical judicatory at Amsterdam. Mr. Smith, in his History of that province, p. 252, justifies this schism upon the following ground: " The expence," says he, " attending the ordination of their candidates in Holland, and the reference of their disputes to the classis of Amsterdam, is very considerable ; and with what consequences, the interruption of their correspondence with the European Dutch would be attended, in case of a war, well deserves their consideration." Nevertheless, Mr. Smith agrees with his protestant dissenting neighbours, that the American episcopalians suffered no hardship in being obliged to incur the same expence in

in crossing the Atlantic for ordination. If the Dutch are justifiable in their schism, I cannot perceive why the American episcopalians might not be justified in a like schism from the bishop of London. Had the episcopalians as little aversion to schism as the protestant dissenters, the clergy north of the Delaware would, in 1765, have got rid of their regard for an English, and accepted of a Greek bishop, whom they could have supported for half the expence their candidates were at in going to England for ordination. But they were said by some to be conscientious men, while others said they were *Issachar's sons, couching down beneath their burthens.*

To proceed in my description of the country :

Connecticut is situated between 41 and 42 deg. N. lat. and between 72 and 73 deg. 50 min. W. long. from London.

London. Notwithstanding, from this latitude, New-London lies 600 miles nearer the line than the capital of England, the winter sets in there a month before it does here; and not only continues longer, but is more severe. This extraordinary coldness is said by naturalists to arise from the vast frozen lakes and rivers, and mountains eternally covered with snow, throughout the northernmost parts of America. The mountains may have their share in producing this effect; but I am apt to think the lakes and rivers have a contrary influence. If I ask, why lands bordering upon them are three weeks earlier in their productions than lands ten miles distant, it will readily be imputed to the warmth of the air, occasioned by the reflection of the sun's rays from the water. On the same principle, I argue, that the rays of the sun, multiplied and reflected by ice also, will render the air warmer. But it may be
further

further said, that the cause is, perhaps, to be ascribed to the soil's being more sandy and loose near a lake or river, and, therefore, naturally warmer, than that which is remote and not sandy. I reply, that there are loose, sandy plains, 20 miles off any lake or river, three weeks later in their products, and very perceptibly colder than lands upon them. It would be to no purpose to urge, that the damps and fogs from unfrozen lakes, rivers, &c. affect the distant, but not the adjacent country; because, I apprehend, there are no unfrozen lakes, rivers, &c. in the north of America in winter. Besides, if there were, the mists arising from them would naturally be intercepted by the first mountains or forests they approached. But I pretend to little philosophical knowledge in these matters: I write from experience; and can thence, moreover, assert, that mountains with snow upon them are not so cold as they would be without it; and that

that mountains, covered with trees, are the coldest of all places, but, without trees, are not so cold as forests on plains. I am clearly of opinion, therefore, that not the lakes or rivers, but the infinite quantity of timber in the immense regions of North America, whether upon mountains or not, is the grand cause of the coldness of the winters in Connecticut. I will add, moreover, in support of my argument, that beasts, in the coldest weather, are observed to quit the woods and woody mountains, for lakes, rivers, and the cultivated open country; and that Connecticut, having now lost most of its timber, is by no means so intensely cold in winter as it was forty years ago, and as Susquehanna is at present, a wilderness in the same latitude. —The snow and ice commonly cover the country, without rains, from Christmas to March; then rains, attended with a boisterous wind from the north and east, melt

melt the snow, which converting brooks into rivers, and rivers into seas, in four or five days the ice is rent from its groaning banks, in such mighty sheets, as shake the earth for 20 miles. Nature being thus in convulsions, the winds turn her fits into madness, by driving ice upon ice, whose thunders cease not till the ocean swallows up the whole.—— It is but natural to suppose, that the summers in Connecticut are much hotter than those in England; nevertheless, from the clearness and serenity of the sky, the climate is healthy both to natives and foreigners of all nations. Connecticut is an hospital for the invalids of the Islands and southern provinces; but, in general, they no sooner amend their own constitutions, than the pestilence, which rages in that of the province, drives them to Rhode-Island or New-York, where fanaticism is lost in irreligion.—The people of Connecticut reckon time almost five hours later than the English.

English. The longest day consists of fifteen hours, the shortest of nine.—The brightness of the sun, moon, and stars, together with their reverberating rays on ice, snow, waters, trees, mountains, pebbles, and flat stones, dazzle and weaken the eyes of the New-Englanders to such a degree, that, in general, they are obliged to use glasses before they are fifty years of age. For the most part, also, they have bad teeth, which have been ascribed to the extreme heats and colds of summer and winter; but, as the Indians and negroes, in the same climate, have remarkably good teeth, it may be said, with great reason, that the many indulgences of the one, and the temperance of the other, and not the heats and colds, are the causes of bad and good teeth.

SOIL and PRODUCE.—The soil is various in different parts of the province; in some black, in others brown, and elsewhere red, but all rich. Some plains are sandy,

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and of a whitish colour; and these produce rye, beans, and Indian corn. The meadows and low lands are excellent pasturage, and yield great crops of hay. The hills and uplands have a rich, deep soil, but are subject to droughts in July and August, which in many places are relieved by water drawn from rivers, ponds, and brooks, in troughs and ditches. The crops of European grain are always good, when the snow, which in general is the only manure, covers the earth from December to March. One acre commonly yields from 20 to 30 bushels of wheat; of Indian corn, from 40 to 60 bushels on river land, and from 30 to 40 on hilly land: but it is to be observed, that one bushel of it raised on hilly land weighs 13lb. more than a bushel raised on river land. All European grains flourish here; and the grass is as thick and much longer than in England. Maize, or Indian corn, is planted in hillocks three feet apart, five kernels

nels and two pumkin-seeds in a hillock ; and between the hillocks are planted ten beans in a hillock : so that, if the season prove favourable, the beans or the pumkins are worth as much as the corn. If, from an acre, the crop of corn be 20 bushels, add the beans and pumkins, and it will be equal to 60 bushels : so, if there be 60 bushels of corn, a proportionate growth of beans and pumkins will render the product equal to 180 bushels. One man plants an acre in a day ; in three days he hoes the same three times ; and six days more suffice for plowing and gathering the crop. For these ten days work, the price is thirty shillings ; and allowing 10s. for the use of the land, the whole expence is 2l. and no more, whilst the corn is worth two shillings per bushel. The gain is seldom less than 300, and oftener 600 per cent. It is thus that the poor man becomes rich in a few years, if prudent and industrious,—

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The limits of Connecticut are reckoned to comprize 5,000,000 acres, half of which are supposed to be swallowed up in rivers, ponds, creeks, and roads. The inhabitants are estimated at 200,000; so that there remain but $12\frac{1}{2}$ acres for each individual. Let it now be considered, that the people buy no provisions from other provinces, but, on the contrary, export full as much as they consume, and it will appear that each person has in fact only $6\frac{1}{4}$ acres for his own support, two of which must be set apart for the growth of wood, the only fuel of the colony. Should I not then be justified in saying that Connecticut is as good and flourishing land as any part of Great-Britain?

The face of the country resembles Devonshire, Gloucestershire, Surry, and Kent. The farmers divide their lands into four, five, and ten acres, by stone walls or posts and rails. The roads from north to south are generally level and good;
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from east to west, hilly and bad for carriages.

The various fruits are in greater perfection than in England. The peach and apple are more luscious, beautiful, and large: 1000 peaches are produced from one tree; five or six barrels of cyder from one apple-tree. Cyder is the common drink at table. The inhabitants have a method of purifying cyder by frost, and separating the watery part from the spirit, which, being secured in proper vessels, and coloured by Indian corn, becomes in three months so much like Madeira wine, that Europeans drink it without perceiving the difference. They make peachy and perry; grape, cherry, and currant wines; and good beer of pumpkins, molasses, bran of wheat, spruce, and malt. The spruce is the leaves and limbs of the fir-tree; their malt is made of maize, barley, oats, rye, chets, and wheat.—The pumpkin, or pompion, is

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one of the greatest blessings, and held very sacred, in New-England. It is a native of America. From one seed often grow 40 pumpkins, each weighing from 40 to 60 pounds, and, when ripe, of the colour of the marygold. Each pumpkin contains 500 seeds, which, being boiled into a jelly, is the Indian infallible cure for the strangury. Of its meat are made beer, bread, custards, sauce, molasses, vinegar, and, on thanksgiving days, pies, as a substitute for what the Blue Laws brand as antichristian minced pies. Its skin, or shell, serves for caps to cut the hair by (as already mentioned), and very useful lanthorns.—There are no trees, grain, or fruits, growing in England, but what grow in Connecticut. The English oak has been thought much superior to the American. Whatever policy may be in this opinion, I will venture to say there is no truth in it, in respect to the white oak of Connecticut, which is tough, close, hard, and

and elastic, as the whale-bone dried. The red, black, and chesnut oak, are, indeed, much inferior to the white oak. The ash, elm, beech, chesnut, walnut, hazel, sassafras, samach, maple, and butternut, are the chief timber-trees of this province, and grow to an amazing bulk. The last is a native of America, and takes its name from a nut it produces, of the shape and size of a pullet's egg, which contains a meat larger than any English walnut, in taste like fresh butter : it also makes an excellent pickle. The butternut furnishes fine, but tender boards ; and its bark dyes black, and cures cutaneous disorders. In February this tree yields a sap, of which are made sugar, molasses, and vinegar. The upland maple-tree also affords a sap equally good ; and both saps make a pleasant beverage without boiling, and the best punch ever drank in Connecticut.

Here are many iron mines, nay mountains of iron ore ; and, if they had

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been attended to with the same diligence as the farms, they would have supplied Great Britain with iron, to the great prejudice of Sweden, and other European nations. For this commercial loss, the inhabitants are indebted to their own quarrels, jealousy, and religious feuds, together with the intrigues of their neighbours. Some pig and bar iron they send; out of pure spite and folly, to New-York or Boston, to be shipped for England by the merchants there, who always pay so much less for it, as the duty on Swedish iron amounts to: so that Connecticut allows a duty to those merchants, which they do not pay themselves.

English, Barbary, and Dutch horses abound in this province: they are not so heavy, but more mettlesome and hardy than in England. Here are more sheep than in any two colonies in America: their wool also is better than that of the sheep in the other colonies, yet not so fine and good

as the English. A common sheep weighs 60lb. and sells for a dollar, or 4*s.* 6*d.* The horned cattle are not so large as the English; yet there have been a few instances of oxen, six years old, weighing 1900 cwt. each. The fat hogs here excel any in England; many weigh five or 600 cwt. Connecticut pork is far superior to any other.

There are only two small parks of deer in Connecticut; but plenty of rabbits, hares, grey, black, striped and red squirrels, otters, minks, racoons, weazels, foxes, whappernockers, woodchucks, cubas, and skunks. The following descriptions of the four last-mentioned animals may be new to the reader:

The whappernocker is somewhat bigger than a weazel, and of a beautiful brown-red colour. He lives in the woods on worms and birds; is so wild that no man can tame him; and, as he never quits his harbour in the day-time, is only
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to be taken by traps in the night. Of the skins of these animals, which are covered with an exceeding fine fur, are made muffs at the price of 30 or 40 guineas apiece: so that it is not without reason the ladies pride themselves on the possession of this small appurtenance of female habiliment.

The Woodchuck, erroneously called the badger by some persons, is of the size of a large racoon, in form resembles a guinea-pig, and, when eating, makes a noise like a hog; whence he is named Woodchuck, or Chuck of the Wood. His legs are short; but his claws sharp, teeth strong, and courage great, on occasions of self-defence. He burrows in the earth, feeds on clover and pumpkins during summer, and sleeps all the winter. His flesh is good to eat, and his skin makes excellent leather.

The Cuba I suppose to be peculiar to New-England. The male is of the size of

of a large cat, has four long tusks sharp as a razor, is very active in defending himself, and, if he has the first blow, will spoil a dog before he yields. His lady is peaceable and harmless, and depends for protection upon her spouse; and, as he has more courage than prudence, always attends him to moderate his temper. She sees danger, and he fears it not. She chatters at him while he is preparing for battle; and, if she thinks the danger is too great, she runs to him, and clings about his neck, screaming her extreme distress—his wrath abates, and by her advice they fly to their caves. In like manner, when he is chained, and irritated into the greatest rage by an impertinent dog, his lady, who is never chained, will fly about his neck and kiss him, and in half a minute restore him to calmness. He is very tender of all his family, and never forsakes them till death dissolves their union.—What further shews the
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magnanimity of this little animal, he never manifests the least anger towards his lady, though I have often seen her extremely loquacious, and, as I guessed, impertinent to him. How happy would the rational part of the creation become, if they would but follow the example of these irrational beasts! I the more readily suppose the Cuba to be peculiar to New-England, not only from my never having yet seen the creature described, but also on account of its perverse observance of *Carnival* and neglect of *Carême*.

The Skunk is also peculiar to America, and very different from the Pole-Cat, which he is sometimes called. He is black striped with white; and of the size of a small racoon, with a sharp nose. He burrows in the earth like a fox, feeds like a fox on fowls and eggs, and has strong teeth and claws like a fox: he has long hair, and thick and good fur; is the beauty of the wilderness; walks,

walks slow, and cannot run so fast as a man; is not wild, but very familiar with every creature. His tail, which is shaggy, and about one foot in length, he turns over his back at pleasure, to make himself appear larger and higher than he really is. When his tail is thus lying on his back, he is prepared for war, and generally conquers every enemy that lives by air; for on it lies his only weapon, about one inch from his body, or rump, in a small bladder or bag, which is full of an essence, whose tint is of the brightest yellow, and odour somewhat like the smell of garlick, but far more exquisite and piercing than any volatile spirit known to chemists. One drop will scent a house to such a degree, that musk, with the help of brimstone and tar burnt, will not expel it in six months. The bladder in which this essence lies is worked by the animal like an engine, pump, or squirt; and when the creature is
 assaulted,

assaulted, he turns his head from his enemy, and discharges from his tail the essence, which fills the neighbouring air with a mist that destroys the possibility of living in it. I have seen a large house-dog, by one discharge of the Skunk, retire with shame and sickness; and, at another time, a bullock bellowing as if a dog had held him by his nose. Was it not for man, no creature could kill this animal, which, instead of the Lion, ought to be crowned King of Animals, as well on account of his virtues and complaisance, as his courage. He knows his forte; he fears nothing, he conquers all; yet he is civil to all, and never gives, as he will not take, offence. His virtues are many. The wood of Calamba, which cures fainting-fits and strokes of the palsy, and is worth its weight in gold, is far less valuable than the above-mentioned essence of this animal. The bag is extracted whole from his tail, and the essence

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preserved in glass; nothing else will confine it. One drop sufficiently impregnates a quart of spring water; and half a gill of water thus impregnated is a dose. It cures the hiccups, asthmatic, hysteric, paralytic, and hectic disorders; and the odour prevents faintness. The flesh of this animal is excellent food; and its oil cures sprains, and contractions of the sinews.

The feathered tribe in Connecticut are, turkeys, geese, ducks, and all kinds of barn-door poultry; innumerable flocks of pigeons, which fly to the south in autumn; cormorants of all sizes; hawks, owls, ravens, and crows; partridges, quails, heath-hens, blackbirds, snipes, larks, hummilitys, whipperwills, dewminks, robins, rens, swallows, sparrows, the flax, crimson, white and blue birds, &c. &c. to which I must add the humming-bird, though it might wantonly be stiled the empress of the honey-bees, partaking with them of the pink, tulip, rose, daisy, and
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other aromatics.—The partridges in New-England are near as large as a Darking fowl; the quails, as an English partridge; and the robins twice as big as those in England.—The dew-mink, so named from its articulating those syllables, is black and white, and of the size of an English robin. Its flesh is delicious.—The Humility is so called, because it speaks the word *humility*, and seldom mounts high in the air. Its legs are long enough to enable it to out-run a dog for a little way; its wings long and narrow, body maigre, and of the size of a blackbird's; plumage variegated with white, black, blue, and red. It lives on tadpoles, spawn, and worms; has an eye more piercing than the falcon, and the swiftness of an eagle. Hence it can never be shot; for it sees the sparks of fire even before they enkindle the powder, and, by the extreme rapidity of its flight, gets out of reach in an instant. It is never known to light upon

upon a tree, but is always seen upon the ground or wing. These birds appear in New-England in summer only; what becomes of them afterwards is not discovered. They are caught in snares, but can never be tamed.

The Whipperwill has so named itself by its nocturnal songs. It is also called the pope, by reason of its darting with great swiftness, from the clouds almost to the ground, and bawling out *Pope!* which alarms young people and the fanatics very much, especially as they know it to be an ominous bird. However, it has hitherto proved friendly, always giving travellers and others notice of an approaching storm, by saluting them every minute with *Pope! Pope!* It flies only a little before sun-set, unless for this purpose of giving notice of a storm. It never deceives the people with false news. If the tempest is to continue long, the augurs appear in flocks, and nothing

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can be heard but the word *Pope!* *Pope!* The whipperwill is about the size of a cuckoo, has a short beak, long and narrow wings, a large head, and mouth enormous, yet is not a bird of prey. Under its throat is a pocket, which it fills with air at pleasure, whereby it sounds forth the fatal words *Pope* in the day, and *Whip-ber-I-will* in the night. The superstitious inhabitants would have exorcised this harmless bird long ago, as an emissary from Rome, and an enemy to the American vine, had they not found out that it frequents New-England only in the summer, and prefers the wilderness to a palace. Nevertheless, many cannot but believe it to be a spy from some foreign court, an agent of antichrist, a lover of persecution, and an enemy of protestants, because it sings of *whipping*, and of the *pope*, which they think portends misery and a change of religion.

The principle insects are, the hornet,
bull-

bull-fly, glow-bug, humble-bee, and the black and yellow wasp.

The Bull-fly is armed with a coat of mail, which it can move from one place to another, as sliders to a window are moved. Its body is about an inch long, and its horns half an inch, very sharp, and strong. It has six feet, with claws sharp as needles, and runs fast. It also flies with some speed. In sucking the blood or juice of its prey, this creature holds the same in its claws, otherwise the prey is carried between its horns.

The Glow-bug both crawls and flies, and is about half an inch long. These insects fly in the summer evenings, nearly seven feet from the ground, in such multitudes, that they afford sufficient light for people to walk by. The brightness, however, is interrupted by twinklings; but they are instantaneous and short as those of the eye; so that darkness no sooner takes places than it vanishes.

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The Humble-bee is almost as large as the humming-bird, but cannot fly near so fast. It builds its nest in the ground, where it makes an honey-comb of the size of a man's hand, and fills it with bee-bread, wax, and honey excelling that of the honey-bee in taste. Two or three begin, and having shortly multiplied to about forty, the young ones leave home as soon as they can fly, to begin new settlements. These bees are wrongly named; they are warriors, and only want quantity of poison to be more fatal than rattle-snakes. The honey-bees can sting but once, while the Humble-bees will sting a thousand times. Their body is black and white; wings of a Doric colour; sight piercing; hearing quick; and temper cruel.

Among the reptiles of Connecticut are the black, the water, milk, and streaked snakes, all harmless. The belled or rattle snakes are large, and will gorge a
common

common cat. They are seldom seen from their rocky dens. Their bite is mortal, if not speedily cured; yet they are generous and without guile: before they bite, they rattle their bells three or four times; but, after that, their motion is swift, and stroke sure. The Indians discovered, and informed the English of, a weed, common in the country, which, mixed with spittle, will extract the poison.

The toads and frogs are plenty in the spring of the year. The tree-frogs, whipperwills, and hooping-owls, serenade the inhabitants every night with music far excelling the harmony of the trumpet, drum, and jews-harp.

The Tree-frog cannot be called an insect, a reptile, or one of the winged host. He has four legs, the two foremost short, with claws sharp as those of a squirrel: the hind legs five inches long, and folding by three joints. His body is about as big as the first joint of a man's thumb. Un-

der his throat is a wind-bag, which assists him in singing the word *I-sa-ac*, all the night. When it rains, and is very dark, he sings the loudest. His voice is not so pleasing as that of a nightingale; but this would be a venial imperfection, if he would but keep silence on Saturday nights, and not for ever prefer *I-sa-ac* to *Abraham* and *Jacob*. He has more elasticity in his long legs than any other creature yet known. By this means he will leap five yards up a tree, fastening himself to it by his fore-feet; and in a moment will hop or spring as far from one tree to another. It is from the singing of the tree-frog, that the Americans have acquired the name of *Little Isaac*. Indeed, like a certain part of them, the creature appears very devout, noisy, arbitrary, and phlegmatic, and associates with none but what agree with him in his ways.

The oysters, clams, quauhogs, lobsters, crabs, and fish, are innumerable. The
 shad,

had, bass, and salmon, more than half support the province. The sturgeon is made no use of. From the number of seals employed to catch the fish passing up to the lakes, one might be led to suppose the whole must be stopped; yet, in six months time they return to the sea with such multitudes of young ones as fill Connecticut river for many days, and no finite being can number them.

POPULATION and INHABITANTS.—Connecticut, in proportion to its extent, exceeds every other colony of English America, as well in the abundance of people as cultivation of soil. The number of the first settlers at Saybrook, in 1634, was 200; in 1636, at Hartford, 106; in 1637, at Newhaven, 157: in all 463. In 1670, the residents in these three settlements amounted to 15,000, of whom 2000 were men capable of bearing arms; the rest, old men, women, and

S 4 children.

children. In 1680, the residents were 20,000; in 1770, 200,000. Hence, it appears, that the people of Connecticut did, during the 90 years preceding the last-mentioned date, increase 2000 each year; i. e. 20,000, in a period of 90 years, doubled their number ten times over. Should the 200,000, which existed in Connecticut in 1770, double their number in the same manner for the ensuing 90 years, the province will, in the year 1860, contain 2,000,000; and, if the fighting men should then be in the same proportion to the rest of the inhabitants, as they were in 1670, they will amount to no less than 266,000. I see no reason in nature why it may not be so. — Since 1670, the emigrations from Europe, or elsewhere, to Connecticut, have been trifling in comparison to the emigrations from Connecticut to New-Jersey, New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Nova-Scotia, &c. &c.

MANU-

MANUFACTURES.——The inhabitants manufacture coarse and fine flannels, linen, cotton, and woolen cloths, woolen stockings, mittens, and gloves, for their own use: they spin much cotton and flax; and make common and the best kind of beaver hats. Ship-building is a great branch of business in Connecticut, which is carried on much cheaper than in Europe, by means of saw-mills worked by water. The planks are cut by a gang of ten or twelve saws, more or less, as occasion requires, while the carriage is backed but once. Great part of the ship-timber is also cut by water. Anchor-making is done by water and trip-hammers, without much fatigue to the workmen. Distillation and paper-making encrease every year. Here are many rope-walks, which want neither hemp nor flax; and formerly here were rolling and splitting works, but they have been suppressed by an act of parliament, to the ruin of many families.

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COMMERCE.—The exports of Connecticut consist chiefly of all sorts of provisions, pig and bar iron, pot and pearl ashes, staves, lumber, boards, iron pots and kettles, anchors, planks, hoops, shingles, live cattle, horses, &c. &c. To what amount these articles are annually exported may be judged of from the following very low estimate :

Pork	—	—	£ 93,750
Beef	—	—	100,000
Mutton,	—	—	5,000
Horses,	—	—	40,000
Wheat	—	—	340,000
Butter, cheese, rye, oats, onions,	}		90,000
tobacco, cyder, maife, beans,			
fowls, eggs, tallow, and hides,			
Ships, anchors, cables, cordage,	}		250,000
pig and bar iron, pots, ket-			
tles, pot and pearl ashes,			
boards, and lumber,			
			918,750
			besides

besides hay, fish, &c. &c. The salmon, large and small, are exported both pickled and dried.

In the above statement of exports, I have allowed only for horses bred in the colony, and not for those brought for exportation from Canada and other northern parts, which are very numerous. The calculation of the wheat, the common price of which is three shillings sterling per bushel, is founded upon the allowed circumstance of the exportation being equal to the consumption, viz. 2,600,000 bushels among 200,000 persons, according to the acknowledged necessary portion of 13 bushels for one person. The pork is estimated according to the reputed number of houses in the province, viz. 30,000, allowing $1\frac{1}{4}$ barrel for each house, at 2*l.* 10*s.* per barrel.

The imports, in 1680, when the number of inhabitants was 20,000, amounted to 10,000*l.* i. e. at the rate of 10*s.* for each in-

individual. Supposing the increase of imports only to keep pace with that of the people, they would, in 1770, when the province contained 200,000 souls, amount to 100,000*l*; but, I believe that to be not above one quarter of their value.

Boston, New - York, and Newport, have the greatest share of the exports of Connecticut, and pay for them in English or Dutch goods, at cent. per cent. profit to themselves, upon a moderate computation. What few of them are sent by the colony to the West-Indies are paid for honourably in rum, molasses, sugar, salt, brandy, cotton, and money.

Consequences very prejudicial attend the commerce of Connecticut, thus principally carried on through the medium of the neighbouring colonies. I will here point out one material instance. Connecticut pork, a considerable article of exportation, excels all other in America,
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and fetches a half-penny more per pound. Of this difference in price the merchants of New-York, Boston, &c. have taken care to avail themselves, by mixing their own inferior pork with that of Connecticut, and then selling the whole at the full price of the latter. This fair dealing was managed thus :—The pork of Connecticut is packed up in barrels, each of which, according to statute regulation, must weigh 220lb. and contain not more than six legs and three half-heads. The packer is to mark the barrel before it is shipped, and is liable to a heavy punishment, if there should be found four half-heads and seven legs in the barrel when it is delivered for exportation. But of large pork, two legs and half a head will be a sufficient proportion of those parts in a barrel. This gives the New-York and Bostonian merchants an opportunity of taking out the best part of the Connecticut pork, and substituting in its place an equal weight of
their

their own, whereby it often happens, that four legs and two half-heads are found in a barrel of reputed Connecticut pork. Though it then remains a barrel according to the statute, it cannot but be supposed that this practice must greatly hurt the credit of Connecticut pork, with all who are not apprized that it passes through the renowned provinces of Massachusetts-Bay and New-York.

The people of Connecticut have long been sensible of the many and great impositions and disadvantages which beset their present commercial system; yet, though sufficient power is in their own hands, they have no inclination or resolution to attempt a reformation of it. The reason is, the mutual animosities and rancour subsisting between the dominions of New-London, Hertford, and Newhaven, each of which prefers the general ruin of the province to a coalition upon any terms short of conquest. The seeds
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of this discord were thus sown by their two insidious neighbours. The port of New-London is by far the best in the province, and extremely well calculated for its capital and grand commercial emporium; and, about 50 years since, a number of merchants there began to export and import goods, seemingly to the satisfaction of the whole colony, but to the great displeasure and chagrin of those of New-York and Boston, whom it threatened with ruin. Something was necessary to be done. The poor Bostonians, according to custom, privately sent to their faithful allies at Hertford, to infuse into them an idea that their town ought to be the capital, and not New-London, which belonged to the dominion of Saffacus, who had murdered so many christians; adding, that, if they would engage in such an attempt in favour of Hertford, the Boston merchants would supply them with goods cheaper than they

they could buy them at New-London. The good people of Hertford, forgetting their river was frozen five months in the year, remembering how they had obtained their charter, hating Saffacus, and loving self, immediately gave into the designing Bostonians suggestions, and refused to receive any more goods from New-London. The friendly Mynheers of New-York played off a similar trick upon Newhaven, and promised to support that town as the capital of the colony. The plots succeeded. Contention and quarrels arose among the three parties, the effects of which remain to this day. The merchants of New-London were obliged to quit Connecticut; and the trade of the province was chiefly divided between New-York and Boston, at cent, per cent. disadvantage to an ill-natured colony, and at the same advantage to its cunning neighbours. When party-spirit yields to self-interest, New-London will
again

again become the emporium of Connecticut, where merchants will settle and import goods from foreign countries at 35% per cent. extra profit to the consumers, and 15% per cent. extra profit to themselves, and withal save as much in the exports from Connecticut by taking the full price and bounty of its goods at foreign markets, instead of yielding the same to the people of New-York and Boston, who have too long kept 200,000 people as negroes upon their own farms, to support and maintain twice 20,000 artful citizens. Thus has Connecticut, by contention and folly, impoverished, and kept in obscurity, the most fruitful colony in America, to support the fame and grandeur of Boston and New-York among the trading nations of Europe. When I view the less fertile soil of Boston, the conscience of merchants, the pride of the pretended Gospel ministers, the blindness of bigotry, and the mercantile igno-

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rance of farmers, I forgive Boston, New-York, and Rhode-Island, but condemn Connecticut. I will leave a legacy to the people of my native country, which possibly may heal their divisions, and render them partial to their own province, as the Bostonians are to theirs. It consists of two lines :

“ But if men knaves and fools will be,
 “ They’ll be afs-ridden by all three.”

REVENUE and EXPENDITURE.—In 1680, the whole corporation were estimated to be worth 120,000*l*. They then had 30 small vessels, 26 churches, and (as above mentioned) 20,000 inhabitants. If their value had increased only in proportion with the inhabitants, who, I have said, amounted to 200,000 in 1770, the corporation would then have been worth no more than 1,200,000*l*. a sum not equal to 10*s*. per acre, though in a great measure cultivated, and surrounded with

with stone walls, which alone cost ten shillings by the rod: but in that year, viz. 1770, land sold in Connecticut from 4 to 50 pounds per acre; their vessels also had encreased to above 1200; and the churches (least in proportion) to about 300. The true method, therefore, of forming the valuation of Connecticut in 1770, is, not by calculating upon its state in 1680, but by estimating the number of its acres, appreciating them by purchases then made, and adding a due allowance for the stock, &c. Now, Connecticut has been reputed to contain 2,500,000 solid acres, which, at the very moderate price of 8*l.* each, are worth 20,000,000*l.* sterl. and 14,000,000*l.* being added as a reasonable allowance for stock, shipping, &c. the whole valuation of Connecticut would amount to 34,000,000*l.* —The annual income, supposing the 2,500,000 acres and stock rented at 10*s.*

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per acre, one with another, would be 1,250,000*l*.

A list of rateables, called the General List, is the foundation upon which the revenue is raised in Connecticut, being the valuation of a man's property by the year. It is formed in the following manner:

One acre of land, per ann.	<i>ol.</i>	<i>10s.</i>	<i>od.</i>
One house ———	3	0	0
One horse ———	3	0	0
One ox ——— ———	4	0	0
One swine ———	1	0	0
One cow ——— ———	3	0	0
One two-year-old heifer	2	0	0
One yearling ditto ———	1	0	0
One poll or male, between 16 and 60 years }	18	0	0
One lawyer for his faculty	20	0	0
One vessel of one hundred tons	10	0	0

£.65 10 0

Every person annually gives in his list,
specifying

specifying the property he possesses, to the selectmen, who send the sum-total of each town to the General Assembly, when a tax of one shilling, more or less, according to public exigencies, is imposed on each pound.

According to the general list of the colony for 1770, I have under-rated its annual worth, which then was fixed at 2,000,000*l.* for, though that list includes the poll-tax of 18*l.* per head for all males above 16 and under 60 years of age, the faculty tax, and the tax on shipping, all which may amount to 600,000*l.* there nevertheless remains a surplus of 150,000*l.* above my calculation. But supposing a tax of one shilling in the pound (the common colonial assessment) on 1,250,000*l.* the produce will be 62,500*l.* exclusive of the poll, faculty, and other taxes. Small, however, as this assessment is, it has never been collected without much difficulty and clamour; yet the people lose, by trading

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with Boston, New-York, and Newport, in exports and imports, 600,000*l.* annually—and that for nothing, but to oblige the traders of those towns, and disoblige one another.

The annual expenditure of the colony is as follows :

Salary of the Governor	—	£.300
— Lieutenant-Governor	—	150
— Treasurer	—	150
— Secretary	—	150
— The 12 Assistants in Council	}	800
with the Governor		
— 146 Representatives	—	2500
— 300 Ministers, 100 <i>l.</i> each		30000
Allowance for contingencies		28450
		—
Total		62500

The above-mentioned list of the colony, including the poll-tax, &c. would afford 32,500*l.* *more for contingencies !*

RELIGION and GOVERNMENT.—Properly speaking, the Connecticutensians have neither, nor ever had ; but, in pretence, they excel the whole world, except

cept Boston and Spain. If I could recollect the names of the multifarious religious sects among them, it might afford the reader a pleasant idea of the prolific invention of mankind. I shall mention a few of the most considerable; specifying the number of their congregations.

	Congregations.	
Episcopalians	—	73
Scotch presbyterian		1
Sandemanian	—	3
Ditto bastard	—	1
Lutherans	—	1
Baptists	—	6
Seven-day ditto	—	1
Quakers	—	4
Davisonians	—	1
Separatists	—	40
Rogereens	—	1
Bowlifts	—	1
Old Lights	—	80
New Lights	—	87

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An account of some of these sects is to be found in the History of Munster; but the Bowlifts, Separatifts, and Davisonians, are peculiar to the colony. The first allow of neither singing nor prayer; the second permit only the Elect to pray; and the third teach universal salvation, and deny the existence of an hell or devils. The presbyterians and episcopalianes are held by all to be the enemies of Zion, and the American vine; nay, the former are even worse hated than the churchmen, because they appear to be dissenters, and are not genuine enemies to episcopacy, but “hold the truth in unrighteousness.” Some travellers have called the fanatical sects of Connecticut by the general name of Legionists, because they are many; and others have called them Punguntums, Cantums, &c. because they groan and sing with a melancholy voice their prayers, sermons, and hymns. This disgusting
tone

tone has utterly excluded oratory from them; and, did they not speak the English language in greater perfection than any other of the Americans, few strangers would disoblige them with their company. Their various systems are founded upon those of Peters, Hooker, and Davenport, of which I have already spoken; yet the modern teachers have made so many new-fangled refinements in the doctrine and discipline of those patriarchs, and of one another, as render their passion for ecclesiastical innovation and tyranny equally conspicuous.—But the whole are enveloped with superstition, which here passes for religion, as much as it does in Spain, France, or among the savages. I will instance that of an infant in 1761. Some children were piling sand-heaps in Hertford, when a boy, only four years old, hearing it thunder at a distance, left his companions and ran home to his mother, crying out,
 “Mother!

“ Mother ! mother ! give me my book,
 “ for I heard God speaking to me.” His
 mother gave him his book, and he read
 A, B, C, D, E, F, G, &c. then gave up
 his book, saying, “ Here, mother, take
 “ my book ; I must go to my fand-
 “ houses : now I am not afraid of all the
 “ thunder and lightning in the world.”

As to their government, we may com-
 pare it to the regularity of a mad mob
 in London, with this exception, the mob
 acts without law, and the colonists by
 law. They teach that legal righteousness
 is not saving grace. Herein they are
 right ; but it appears they believe not
 their own doctrine : for legal righteouf-
 ness is their only *shield and buckler*.
 In January county court, at Hertford only,
 1768, there were above 3000 suits on the
 docket, and there are four of those courts
 in a year, and perhaps never less suits at a
 court than 2000.

In the course of this work, my readers
 must

must necessarily have observed, in some degree, the ill effects of the democratical constitution of Connecticut. I would wish them to imagine, for I feel myself unable adequately to describe, the confusion, turbulence, and convulsion, arising in a province, where not only every civil officer, from the Governor to the constable, but also every minister, is appointed as well as paid by the people, and faction and superstition are established. The clergy, lawyers, and merchants or traders, are the three efficient parties which guide the helm of government. Of these the most powerful is the clergy; and, when no combinations are formed against them, they may be said to rule the whole province; for they lead the women captive, and the women the men; but when the clergy differ with the lawyers and merchants, the popular tide turns. In like manner, when the clergy and lawyers contend with the merchants, it turns against these;

these ; and it is the same, when the clergy and merchants unite against the lawyers. This fluctuation of power gives a strange appearance to the body politic at large. In Hertford, perhaps, the clergy and merchants are agreed and prevail ; in Weathersfield, the clergy and lawyers ; in Middletown, the lawyers and merchants ; and so on, again and again, throughout the colony. Thus the General Assembly becomes an assembly of contending factions, whose different interests and pursuits it is generally found necessary mutually to consult, in order to produce a sufficient coalition to proceed on the business of the state.—*Vos ipsos, pseudo-patres patriæ, veluti in speculo, aspiciite!*— Sometimes, in quarrels between the merchants and lawyers of a particular parish, the minister is allowed to stand neuter ; but, for the most part, he is obliged to declare on one side or the other : he then, remembering whence he
gets

gets his bread, espouses that which appears to be the strongest, whether it be right or wrong, and his declaration never fails to ruin the adverse party. *En rabies vulgi!* —I must beg leave to refer my readers to their own reflections upon such a system of government as I have here sketched out.

The historians of New-England boast much of the happiness all parties there enjoy in not being subject, as in England, to any sacramental test by way of qualification for preferment in the state; on which account, with peculiar propriety, it might be called a free country. The truth is, there never has been occasion for such a test-act. The assemblies never appointed any, because the magistrates are annually chosen by the people, of whom the far greater part are church-members; and this church-membership, in its consequences, destroys all liberty in a communicant, who is
necessitated

necessitated to swear to promote the interest of that church he is a member of, and is duly informed by the minister what that interest is. The minister is the eye of conscience to all freemen in his parish; and tells them, that they will perjure themselves, if they give their votes to an episcopalian, or to any person who is not a member of the church of the *Sober Dissenters*. Those *freemen* dare not go counter to the minister's dictate, any more than a true Mussulman dare violate the most sacred law of Mahomet. What need, then, is there of a civil test, when a religious test operates much more powerfully, and will ever keep all churchmen, separatists, quakers, baptists, and other denominations, from governmental employments in Connecticut, and confine them all to the Old and New Lights; whilst the test-act in England prevents no dissenter from holding any civil or military commission whatsoever,

soever.—Upon this subject Mr. Neal has exerted himself in so signal a manner, that he ought to be styled the Champion of New-England. He represents, that there were two state factions in New-England : the one out of place he calls spies, and malcontents, chiefly because they had no share in the government. He adds, p. 615, “ I can assure the world, that religion is no part of the quarrel ; for there is no sacramental test for preferments in the state.”—Many people in New-England have not been able to assign a reason for Mr. Neal’s chusing to hide one truth by telling another, viz. that there was no statute in New-England to oblige a man to receive the sacrament among the *Sober Dissenters*, as a qualification for civil employment. This assertion is really true ; and when Mr. Neal speaks a truth, he above all men ought to have credit for it. But Mr. Neal well knew it to be truth also, that

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no man could be chosen a corporal in the train-band, unless he was a member of the church of the *Sober Dissenters*, because then every voter was subject to a religious test of the synod or consociation. Mr. Neal, indeed, seems to think that a civil test is heresy itself; but that a religious test is liberty, is gospel, and renders "all parties of christians in New-England "easy, a happy people!" The reason, however, of his muffling truth with truth, was, he wrote for the Old Lights, and against the New Lights, for hire; the New Lights being the minority, and out of place in the state. Those two sects differed about the coercive power of the civil magistrate. The Old Lights held that the civil magistrate was a creature framed on purpose to support ecclesiastical censures with the sword of severity; but the New Lights maintained, that the magistrate had no power or right to concern himself with church excommunication, and that

excom-

excommunication was all the punishment any-one could undergo in this world according to the rules of the gospel. These were and always have been two great articles of faith in New-England ; nevertheless, Mr. Neal says, he can assure the world, that " religion is no part of the quarrel!" I hope Mr. Neal did not mean to quibble, as the New-Englanders generally do, by a jesuitism, viz. that religion is peaceable and admits not of quarrels ; and yet, if he did not, he meant not a full representation of the matter : for he well knew that the difference in respect to the intent and power of magistrates was a religious point, and formed the partition-wall between the Old and New Lights. The civilians or magistrates were too wise to countenance the New-Lights, who promised little good to them ; while the Old-Lights gave them a power of punishing, even with death, those whom they had anathematized, and who would not

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submit to their censures by penitence and confession. The Old-Lights, in short, supported the practice of the inquisitors of Spain, and Archbishop Laud; the ostensible occasion of their ancestors flying from England to the wilderness of America.

But Mr. Neal contented not himself with one mistake: he added, "that the
 "people of New-England are a dutiful
 "and loyal people." They never merited this character, and they always had too much honesty and religion to claim it. From the first they have uniformly declared, in church and state, that America is a new world, subject to the people residing in it; and that none but enemies to the country would appeal from their courts to the King in Council. They never have prayed for any earthly king by name. They have always called themselves republicans and enemies to kingly government, to temporal and spiritual lords.

lords. They hate the idea of a parliament, consisting of King, Lords, and Commons : they declare, that the three branches should be but one, the King having only a single vote with the other members. Upon this point they have always quarrelled with all governors. They never have admitted one law of England to be in force among them, till passed by their assemblies. They have sent agents to fight against the Kings of England. They deny the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, which extends over America by virtue of a royal patent. They hold Jesus to be their only King, whom if they love and obey, they will not submit, because they have not submitted, to the laws of the King of Great-Britain.

Mr. Neal, furthermore, professes his want of conception why the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts should send Missionaries into New-England, when Oliver Cromwell had, in

1649, instituted a Society to propagate Christian Knowledge there. Mr. Neal might have learnt the cause of this phenomenon from the charter granted to the first-mentioned Society by King William III. who was a friend to civil and christian liberty, and who endeavoured to suppress the intolerable persecutions in his days prevailing in New-England. But, besides, Mr. Neal could not but know that there were many churchmen in New-England desirous of the use of the liturgy and discipline of the English church ; and for what reason should not they have ministers of their own persuasion, as well as the sober and conscientious dissenters ? I hope my readers will not think me a partial advocate for the church of England, which, perhaps, has lost the opportunity of civilizing, christianizing, and moderating the burning zeal of the dissenters in New-England who were honest in their religion, merely by the sinful omission

sion of not sending a bishop to that country, who would have effected greater things among them than an army of 50,000 men.—I avow myself to be liberal-minded towards all sects and parties; and, if I had power, I would convert all sorts of ministers into popes, cardinals, prelates, dominis, potent presbyters, and rich quakers, that the world might be excused from hearing again of preaching, defamation, insurrections, and spiritual jurisdictions, which result more from poverty, pride, avarice, and ambition, than the love of peace and christianity. It has been said by the deists and other politicians, that ministers, by preaching, have done more hurt than good in the christian world. If the idea will hold in any part, it will in New-England, where each sect preaches, for Gospel, policy and defamation of its neighbour; whence the lower classes think, that christianity consists in defending their own peculiar church

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and modes, and subverting those of others, at any rate ; while the higher ranks value religion and the Gospel as laws of a foreign country, and the clergy as merchants or pawwawers, subtle, cruel, and greedy of riches and dominion over all people. For this reason, the savages have taken an aversion to the protestant religion, and say they had rather follow Hobbamockow, and the Roman priests, than New-England christians, who persecute one another, and killed their ancestors with a *pocky* Gospel. With scorn they cry out, “ We value not your Gospel, which shews
“ so many roads to Kicktang : some of
“ them must be crooked, and lead to
“ Hobbamockow. We had, therefore,
“ better continue Indians, like our ancestors ; or be catholicks, who tell us of
“ only one way to Kicktang, or the invisible God.”

LAWS. — A stranger in the colony, upon hearing

hearing the inhabitants talk of religion, liberty, and justice, would be induced to believe that the christian and civil virtues were their distinguishing characteristics; but he soon finds his mistake on fixing his abode among them. Their laws grind the poor, and their religion is to oppress the oppressed. The poll-tax is unjust and cruel. The poor man is compelled to pay for his head 18s. per ann. work four days on the highways, serve in the militia four days, and pay three shillings for his hut without a window in it. The best house and richest man in the colony pays no more!

The law is pretended to exempt episcopalian, anabaptists, quakers, and others, from paying rates to the *Sober Dissenters*; but, at the same time, gives the *Sober Dissenters* power to tax them for minister, school, and town-rates, by a general vote; and no law or court can *put asunder what the town has joined together*.—The law

also exempts from paying to *Sober Dissenters* all churchmen, *who live so near as they can and do attend the church*. But, hence, if a man is sick, and does not attend more than 26 Sabbaths in a year, he becomes legally a *Sober Dissenter*; and, if the meeting lies between him and the church, he does not live *so near* the church *as he can attend*, because is it more than a Sabbath - day's journey, and *unnecessary* travel.

The law prescribes whipping, stocks, and fines, for such as do not attend public worship on the Sabbath. The grand jury complains, and the justice inflicts the punishment. This has been the practice many years. About 1750, Mr. Pitt, a churchman, was whipped, for not attending meeting. Mr. Pitt was an old man. The episcopal clergy wrote to England, complaining of this cruel law. The Governor and Council immediately broke the justice who punished Mr.

Mr. Pitt, and wrote to the Bishop of London that they had done so, as a mark of their disapprobation of the justice's conduct, and knew not what more they could do. This apology satisfied the Bishop; and the next year the same Governor and Council restored the justice to his office: however, quakers and anabaptists only were whipped afterwards.

Formerly, when a *Sober Dissenter* had a suit in law against a churchman, every juryman of the latter persuasion was by the court removed from the jury, and replaced by *Sober Dissenters*. The reason assigned for this extraordinary conduct was, "that justice and impartiality might take place." The episcopalians, quakers, and other sects, not of the *Sober Dissenters*, were not admitted to serve as jurymen in Connecticut till about 1750. Such of them, whose annual worth is rated at not less than forty pounds in the general list, have enjoyed the liberty of
voting

voting for civil officers a much longer term; but from parish-concerns they are all still totally excluded.

Other laws I have occasionally animadverted upon in the course of this work; and a specimen of the Blue Laws is inserted p. 63.—the various courts 80, 81.

Nothing can reflect greater disgrace upon the colony than the number of suits in all the county courts, amounting in the whole to between 20 and 30,000 annually; the greatest part of which are vexatiously commenced from expectations grounded upon the notorious instability of the judges opinions and decisions.

This spirit of litigation, which distracts the province in general, is, however, a blessing to the judges and lawyers. The court has one shilling for every action called, and twenty shillings for those that come to trial; and the fee to each lawyer is twenty shillings, whether the action
be

be tried or not : besides various other expences. There are near as many suits of conscience before the justices of peace, and ministers, and deacons; so that the sum annually expended in law in the whole colony is amazing. It was not without reason, therefore, that the judges, the lawyers, the ministers, and deacons, the sheriffs, and constables, opposed the stamp-act with all their might. They told the people, that, if this act took place, their liberties would be destroyed, and they would be tried by King's judges without a jury.

The singular nature of some of the suits entitle them to particular notice. When the ice and floods prevail in the great river Connecticut, they frequently cut off large pieces of ground on one side, and carry them over to the opposite. By this means, the river is every year changing its bed, to the advantage of some persons, and the disadvantage of others. This has proved

proved the source of perplexing law-suits, and will most likely continue to produce the same effects so long as the demiannual assemblies remain in the colony; for the judgment of the Assembly in May is rescinded by that in October, and so *vice versa*. Thus a law-suit in Connecticut is endless, to the ruin of both plaintiff and defendant. The county and the superior courts, also, in different years, give different judgments; and the reason is the popular constitution of the colony, whereby different parties prevail at different times, each of whom carefully undoes what the others have done. Thus the glorious uncertainty of law renders the possession of property in Connecticut extremely precarious. The question, however, touching the lands removed from place to place by the floods and ice, requires the skill of both jurists and casuists. The most simple case of the kind that has been communicated to me, is the

the following : A piece of land belonging to A. in Springfield, with a house, &c. standing upon it, was removed by the flood to another town, and settled on land belonging to W. A. claimed his house and land, and took possession of them ; whereupon W. sued A. for a trespass, and the court ejected A. But A. afterwards obtained a reversion of the judgment ; when W. again sued A. and got a decree that A. should remove his own land off from the land of W. or pay W. for *his* land. Further litigation ensued, and both parties pleaded that the act of God injured no man according to the English law. The judges said, the act of God in this case equally fell upon A. and W. The dispute rests in *statu quo*, the jurisprudence of Connecticut not having yet taught mankind what is just and legal in this important controversy.

Supposing the flood had carried A.'s ship or raft on W.'s land, the ship or raft would



would still belong to A. and W. could recover no damage; but then A. must take away his ship or raft in a reasonable time. Yet in the case where an island or point of land is removed by the waters, or an earthquake, upon a neighbouring shore, Q. Ought not the islanders to keep possession of the superficies?—This may be a new case in Europe.

MANNERS and CUSTOMS.—Gravity and a serious deportment, together with shyness and bashfulness, generally attend the first communications with the inhabitants of Connecticut; but, after a short acquaintance, they become very familiar and inquisitive about news,—Who are you, whence come you, where going, what is your business, and what your religion? They do not consider these and similar questions as impertinent, and consequently expect a civil answer. When the stranger has satisfied their curiosity, they

they will treat him with all the hospitality in their power, and great caution must be observed to get quit of them and their houses without giving them offence. If the stranger has cross and difficult roads to travel, they will go with him till all danger is past, without fee or reward. The stranger has nothing to do but civilly to say, "Sir, I thank you, and will call upon you when I return." He must not say, "God bless you, I shall be glad to see you at my house," unless he is a minister; because they hold, that the words "God bless you" should not be spoken by common people; and "I shall be glad to see you at my house" they look upon as an insincere compliment paid them for what they do out of duty to the stranger. Their hospitality is highly exemplary; they are sincere in it, and reap great pleasure by reflecting that perhaps they have entertained angels. The Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, in one
of

of his sermons, gave them the following character: "I have found," said he, "the people of Connecticut the wisest of any upon the continent—they are the best friends and the worst enemies—they are hair-brained bigots on all sides—and they may be compared to the horse and mule without bit and bridle. In other colonies I have paid for my food and lodging; but could never spend one penny in fruitful Connecticut, whose banks flow with milk and honey, and whose sons and daughters never fail to feed and refresh the weary traveller *without money and without price.*"

On Saturday evenings the people look sour and sad: on the Sabbath, they appear to have lost their dearest friends, are almost speechless, and walk softly; they even observe it with more exactness than ever did the Jews. A quaker preacher told them, with much truth, that they

WOR-

worshipped the Sabbath, and not the God of the Sabbath. Those hospitable people without charity condemned the quaker as a blasphemer of the holy Sabbath, fined, tarred and feathered him, put a rope about his neck, and plunged him into the sea ; but he escaped with life, though he was above 70 years of age. In 1750, an episcopal clergyman, born and educated in England, who had been in holy orders above 20 years, once broke their sabbatical law, by combing a discomposed lock of hair on the top of his wig ; at another time, by making a humming noise, which they called a whistling ; at a third time, by walking too fast from church ; at a fourth, by running into church when it rained ; at a fifth, by walking in his garden, and picking a bunch of grapes : for which several crimes he was complained of by the grand Jury, had warrants granted against him, was seized, brought to trial, and paid a considerable sum of money.

X

At

At last, overwhelmed with persecution and vexation, he cried out, "No Briton, " nay no Jew, should assume any public " character in Connecticut, till he has " served an apprenticeship of ten years " in it; for I have been here seven years, " and strictly observed the Jewish law " concerning the Sabbath, yet find my- " self remiss in respect to the *perfect law* " *of liberty!*"

The people are extremely fond of strangers passing through the colony, but very averse to foreigners settling among them; which few have done without ruin to their characters and fortunes by detraction and law-suits, unless recommended as men of grace by some known and revered republican protestant in Europe. The following story may be amusing:—An English gentleman, during a short residence in a certain town, had the good luck to receive some civilities from the Deacon, Minister, and Justice,

tice. The Deacon had a daughter, without beauty, but sensible and rich. The Briton (for that was the name he went by), having received a present from the West Indies, of some pine-apples and sweetmeats, sent his servant with part of it to the Deacon's daughter, to whom, at the same time, he addressed a complimentary note, begging Miss would accept the pine-apples and sweetmeats, and wishing he might be able to make her a better present. Miss, on reading the note, was greatly alarmed, and exclaimed, "Ma-
 " ma! Mama! Mr. Briton has sent me a
 " love-letter." The mother read the note, and shewed it to the Deacon; and, after due consideration, both agreed in pronouncing it a love-letter. The lawyer, justice, and parson, were then sent for, who in council weighed every word in the note, together with the golden temptation which the lady possessed, and were of opinion that the writer was in love,

and that the note was a love-letter, but worded so carefully that the law could not punish Briton for attempting to court Miss without obtaining her parents consent. The parson wrung his hands, rolled up his eyes, shrugged up his shoulders, groaned out his hypocritical grief, and said, "Deacon, I hope you do not blame me for having been the innocent cause of your knowing this imprudent and haughty Briton. There is something very odd in all the Britons; but I thought this man had some prudence and modesty: however, Deacon," putting his hand on his breast, and bowing with a pale, deceitful face, "I shall in future shun all the Britons, for they are all strange creatures." The lawyer and justice made their apologies, and were sorry that Briton did not consider the quality of the Deacon's daughter before he wrote his letter. Miss, all apprehension and tears, at finding no punishment

ment could reach Briton in the course of law, cried out to her counsellors, "Who
 "is Briton? Am I not the Deacon's
 "daughter? What have I done that he
 "should take such liberties with me?
 "Is he not the natural son of some
 "priest or foundling? Ought he not to
 "be exposed for his assurance to the
 "Deacon's daughter?" Her words took
 effect. The council voted that they would
 shew their contempt of Briton by neglect-
 ing him for the time to come. On his re-
 turn home, the parson, after many and great
 signs of surprize, informed his wife of the
 awful event which had happened by the
 imprudence of Briton. She soon com-
 municated the secret to her sister gossips,
 prudently cautioning them not to report it
 as from her. But, not content with that,
 the parson himself went among all his
 acquaintance, shaking his head, and say-
 ing, "O, Sirs! have you heard of the
 "strange conduct of friend Briton?--how

" he wrote a love-letter, and sent it with
 " some pine-apples to the Deacon's daughter?
 " ter? My wife and I had a great friendship
 " ship for Briton, but cannot see him
 " any more." Thus the afflicted parson
 told this important tale to every one except
 Briton, who, from his ignorance of the story,
 conducted himself in his usual manner
 towards his supposed friends; though he
 observed they had a show of haste and
 business whenever he met with any of them.
 Happily for Briton, he depended not on the
 Deacon, Minister, or Colony, for his support.
 At last, a Scotchman heard of the evil tale,
 and generously told Briton of it, adding that
 the parson was supposed to be in a deep
 decline merely from grief and the fatigue
 he had endured in spreading it. Briton
 thanked the Scotchman, and called on the
 friendly parson to know the particulars
 of his offence. The parson, with sighs,
 bows, and solemn smirking, answered

fwered, "Sir, the fact is, you wrote a
 "love-letter to the Deacon's daughter
 "without asking her parents consent,
 "which has given great offence to that
 "lady, and to all her acquaintance, of
 "whom I and my wife have the honour
 "to be reckoned a part." Briton kept
 his temper. "So then," said he, "I
 "have offended you by my insolent note
 "to the Deacon's daughter! I hope my
 "sin is venial. Pray, Sir, have you seen
 "my note?" "Yes," replied the parson,
 "to my grief and sorrow: I could not
 "have thought you so imprudent, had I
 "not seen and found the note to be your
 "own writing." "How long have you
 "known of this offence?" "Some months."
 "Why, Sir, did you not seasonably ad-
 "monish me for this crime?" "I was
 "so hurt and grieved, and my friendship
 "so great, I could not bear to tell you."
 Mr. Briton then told the parson, that his
 friendship was so fine and subtle, it was

invisible to an English eye; and that Gospel ministers in England did not prove their friendship by telling calumnious stories to every body but the person concerned. "But, I suppose," added he, "this is genuine New-England friendship, and merits thanks more than a supple-jack!" The parson, with a leering look, sneaked away towards his wife; and Briton left the colony without any civil or ecclesiastical punishment, telling the Scotchman that the Deacon's daughter had money, and the parson faith without eyes, or he should never have been accused of making love to one who was naturally so great an enemy to Cupid.—Of such or worse sort being the reception foreign settlers may expect from the inhabitants of Connecticut, it is no wonder that few or none chuse to venture among them.

The custom of settling and dismissing a *sober dissenting* minister is very singular.

lat. All the parishioners meet, and vote to apply to the association for a candidate; and one is accordingly sent. If he pleases, the people vote to give him a call: if he accepts the call, the actual communicants, and they alone, make the covenant between him and them as Christ's church, and thus they are *married* to him. After the candidate is ordained, others, by acknowledging and swearing to support the covenant, become *married* to him also. [N.B. Baptism is not sufficient to take them out of their natural state.] The call is an invitation from the parishioners to the candidate to take upon him the ministerial office of their church, on condition that he be allowed 300*l.* or 400*l.* settlement, and, perhaps, 100*l.* salary, besides wood, &c. &c. during his residence among them in that capacity. The candidate, after looking round him, and finding no better terms offered from any other parish, answers in this manner: " Brethren
 " and

“and friends, I have considered of your
 “call; and, after many fastings and
 “prayers, I find it to be the call of God,
 “and close with your offer.” The
 church then appoints a day for his ordi-
 nation, and the ministers who shall assist
 in the ceremony, which is as follows:
 1. The meeting is opened with an hymn :
 2. some-one makes a prayer : 3. another
 hymn succeeds : 4. a sermon : 5. ano-
 ther prayer : 6. the covenant is read : 7.
 the prayer of consecration, with imposi-
 tion of hands by the ministers : 8. the
 right hand of fellowship, which conveys
 that half of ministerial power which I have
 already spoken of as communicated by
 the churches (p.143) : 9. the charge ; that
 is, to behave well in the office whereto
 God has called him : 10. a prayer : 11.
 another hymn : 12. the young minister
 dismisses with his benediction. Numerous
 as the ceremonies are in a minister’s or-
 dination, there are but few judged ne-
 cessary

cessary in dismissing him—a majority of the church is enough to turn the minister from bed and board, or, in their language, “to *divorce* him;” — which happens more frequently than is decent. The minister has no remedy but in appealing to the association, which step entitles him to his salary till dismissed by that *powerful body*.—Incontinency, intemperance, lying, and idleness, are the common accusations brought against the minister, but seldom founded in truth, and yet always proved by knights of the post. However, the minister carries off his settlement, in case he is dismissed for immoralities, but not if he turns churchman; then his old parishioners are mean enough to sue for the settlement. A recent instance of this kind happened at New-London, where the minister, Doctor Mather Byles, desired a dismissal, which was given him; but, finding the Doctor’s design was to become a churchman,

man, the people demanded the settlement given him twelve years before. The Doctor, with a spirit worthy of himself and his venerable ancestors, returned the money with, "You are welcome to it, "since it proves to the world that you "could not accuse me of any thing "more agreeable to ungenerous minds."

The manner of visiting the sick in this province is more terrible than charitable. The minister demands of the sick if he be converted, when, and where? If the answers are conformable to the system of the minister, it is very well; if not, the sick is given over as a non-elect, and no object of prayer. Another minister is then sent for, who asks if the sick be willing to die—if he hates God—if he be willing to be damned, if it please God to damn him? Should he answer No, this minister quits him as did the former. Finally, the sick man dies, and so falls out of their hands into better.

Amidst

Amidst all the darkness of superstition that surrounds the state, the humanity it shews to poor strangers seized with sickness in the colony, or to such persons as are shipwrecked upon its coasts, shines with distinguished lustre. These unfortunate sufferers are immediately provided with necessaries of every kind by order of the selectmen, whose expences are reimbursed out of the colony treasury.

Thus is laudably employed a part of the money allowed for contingencies (see p. 278); but another part is consumed in a very different manner. It frequently happens, that whenever the Episcopalians become so numerous in a parish, as to gain the ascendancy over the *Sober Dissenters*, and the latter cannot, by their own strength, either destroy the episcopal, or support their own church, the Governor and Council, with the advice of the Confociation, kindly relieve them with an annual grant, out of the public treasury,

treasury, sometimes to the amount of the whole sum paid into it by every denomination in the parish. An act of charity of this kind lately took place at Chelsea, in Norwich, where the *Sober Dissenters* were few and poor, and without a meeting-house or minister ; so that they were obliged to walk a mile to a meeting, or go to church. The young people chose the latter, which alarmed the *Sober Dissenters* to such a degree, that they applied for and obtained from the generous Governor and his virtuous Council 300*l.* per annum out of the public treasury, besides the duties on the vessels of churchmen at that port. This largition enabled them to build a meeting and settle a minister. When the churchmen complained of this abuse of public money, the Governor answered, “ The Assembly has the same right to support christianity, as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign Parts, or the Parliament of Great Britain.”

The

The murmurs of the people, on the collection of the revenue, bespeak embezzlements of another kind. It should seem that they believed the General Assembly to be in the same predicament the Devil thought Job was, when he said, "*Doth Job serve God for nought?*"

Estates in Connecticut pass from generation to generation by gavelkind; so that there are few persons, except of the labouring class, who have not freeholds of their own to cultivate. A general mediocrity of station being thus constitutionally promoted, it is no wonder that the rich man is despised and the poor man's blessing is his poverty. In no part of the world are *les petits* and *les grands* so much upon a par as here, where none of the people are destitute of the conveniences of life, and the spirit of independence. From their infancy, their education as citizens points out no distinction between licentiousness and liberty; and

and their religion is so muffled with superstition, self-love, and provincial enmity, as not yet to have taught them that humility and respect for others, which from others they demand. Notwithstanding these effects of the levelling plan, there are many exceptions to be found in the province of gentlemen of large estates and generous principles.

The people commonly travel on horseback ; and the ladies are capable of teaching their neighbours the art of horsemanship. There are few coaches in the colony ; but many chaises and whiskeys. In the winter, the sleigh is used ; a vehicle drawn by two horses, and carrying six persons in its box, which hangs on four posts standing on two steel sliders, or large scates.

Dancing, fishing, hunting, skating, and riding in sleighs on the ice, are all the amusements allowed in the colony.

Smuggling is rivetted in the constitutions

tions and practice of the inhabitants of Connecticut, as much as superstition and religion ; and their province is a store-house for the smugglers of the neighbouring colonies. They conscientiously study to cheat the King of those duties, which, they say, God and nature never intended should be paid. From the governor down to the tithing-man, who are sworn to support the laws, they will aid smugglers, resist collectors, and mob informers. This being a popular government, all the officers are appointed by the freeholders. There are very severe laws against bribery. The candidates are not suffered to give a dinner, or a glass of cyder, on the day of election, to a voter. Indeed, bribery is the next greatest crime to the breach of the Sabbath ; yet open bribery, established by custom immemorial in Rhode-Island, is more praiseworthy than the practice of Connecticut. I will give the reader some idea of the

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mode in which an election is managed in Connecticut. All the voters in a township convene in the town meeting-house. One of the ministers, after prayers, preaches from some such text as, "*Jabez was more honourable than all his brethren.*" The people keep their seats, while the constables take their votes in a box; and, if a voter has not his vote written, the constable gives him one. So Jabez is elected; and the meeting is concluded with a prayer of thanks to the Lord God of Israel for "turning the hearts of his people against the enemies of Zion, and for uniting them in Jabez, the man after his own heart."—The manner in which the preacher treats his text, will more particularly appear from the animadversion of a certain quaker on one of these occasions. "Friend," said he to the pedagogue, "I do thee no wrong in telling thee that thou has prayed and preached against bribery, but forgot
" to

" to keep thy tongue from speaking evil
 " against thy neighbour. Dost thou think
 " the Lord will regard thy preaching so
 " much as the voters whom thou dost call
 " freemen? If thou believest it, thou
 " hast bribed not only the people, but
 " the Lord also, to reject Ebenezer and
 " Benjamin." The preacher called upon
 the constable to take away this babbler,
 and open the meeting; which was done,
 and Ebenezer and Benjamin were re-
 jected by the voters.

The men, in general, throughout the
 province, are tall, stout, and robust. The
 greatest care is taken of the limbs and
 bodies of infants, which are kept strait
 by means of a board; a practice learnt of
 the Indian women, who abhor all crook-
 ed people: so that deformity is here a
 rarity. Another custom derived from the
 Indians is, to welcome a new-born infant
 into the world with urine and honey, the
 effects of which are wonderful; and hence

it is that at groanings there are always a little boy and a rattle-snake's skin, the latter of which prevents numbness and the cramp. The women are fair, handsome, genteel. They have, indeed, adopted various customs of the Indian women; but cannot learn, like them, how to support the pains of child-bearing without a groan. Naturalists and surgeons have not been able to assign a reason why a negro woman should have a hundred pains, a white woman ten, and an Indian none. Some have said that the fatigues and hardships which the negroes endure, are the cause; but the Indians undergo many more:—others have said it is owing to the change of climate; but this is supplementary:—while the enthusiastic divines attribute it to the sin of Eve, and to the curse laid on the Canaanites. The deists ask those divines, If Eve was not the common mother of the white, black, and copper-coloured women; and how

it

it appears that negroes are the descendants of the people of Canaan? Their answer is, All nature is mystery.

The women of Connecticut are strictly virtuous, and to be compared to the prude rather than the European polite lady. They are not permitted to read plays; cannot converse about whist, quadrille, or operas; but will freely talk upon the subjects of history, geography, and the mathematics. They are great casuists and polemical divines; and I have known not a few of them so well skilled in Greek and Latin, as often to put to the blush learned gentlemen.

Notwithstanding the modesty of the females is such, that it would be accounted the greatest rudeness for a gentleman to speak before a lady of a garter, knee, or leg, yet it is thought but a piece of civility to ask her to BUNDLE; a custom as old as the first settlement in 1634. It is certainly innocent, virtuous, and prudent;

dent; or the puritans would not have permitted it to prevail among their offspring, for whom in general they would suffer crucifixion. Children brought up with the chastest ideas, with so much religion, as to believe that the omniscient God sees them in the dark, and that angels guard them when absent from their parents, will not, nay, cannot act a wicked thing. People who are influenced more by lust, than by a serious faith in God, who is too pure to behold iniquity with approbation, ought never to *bundle*. If any man, thus a stranger to the love of virtue, of God, and the christian religion, should *bundle* with a young lady in New-England, and behave himself unseemly towards her, he must first melt her into passion, and expel heaven, death, and hell, from her mind, or he will undergo the chastisement of negroes turned mad—if he escape with life, it will be owing to the parents flying from their bed to protect

protect him. The Indians, who had this method of courtship, when the English first arrived among them in 1634, are the most chaste set of people in the world. Concubinage and fornication are vices none of them are addicted to, except such as forsake the laws of Hobbamockow and turn christians. The savages have taken many female prisoners, carried them back 300 miles into their country, and kept them several years, and yet not a single instance of their violating the laws of chastity has ever been known. This cannot be said of the French, or of the English, whenever Indian or other women have fallen into their hands. I am no advocate for temptation; yet must say, that *bundling* has prevailed 160 years in New-England, and, I verily believe, with ten times more chastity than the sitting on a sofa. I had daughters, and speak from near forty years experience. *Bundling* takes place only in cold seasons of the

Y 4 year—

year—the sofa in summer is more dangerous than the bed in winter. About the year 1756, Boston, Salem, Newport, and New-York, resolving to be more polite than their ancestors, forbade their daughters *bundling* on the bed with any young men whatever, and introduced a sofa to render courtship more palatable and Turkish. Whatever it was owing to, whether to the sofa, or any uncommon excess of the *feu d'esprit*, there went abroad a report, that this *raffinage* produced more *natural consequences* than all the *bundling* among the boors with their *rurales pedantes*, through every village in New-England besides.

In 1766, a clergyman from one of the polite towns, went into the country, and preached against the unchristian custom of young men and maidens lying together on a bed. He was no sooner out of the church, than attacked by a shoal of good old women, with, “Sir, do you think
“ we

"we and our daughters are naughty,
 "because we allow of *bundling*?" He
 answered, "You *lead yourselves into*
 "*temptation* by it." They all replied at
 once, "Sir, have you been told thus, or
 "has experience taught it you?" The
 Levite began to lift up his eyes, and to
 consider of his situation, and, bowing,
 said, "I have been told so." The ladies,
undâ voce, bawled out, "Your informers,
 "Sir, we conclude, are those city ladies
 "who prefer a sofa to a bed: we ad-
 "vise you to alter your sermon by
 "substituting the word *Sofa* for *Bun-*
 "*dling*, and, on your return home,
 "preach it to them; for experience
 "has told us that city folks send more
 "children into the country without
 "father or mothers to own them, than
 "are born among us; therefore, you see,
 "a sofa is more dangerous than a bed."
 The poor priest, seemingly convinced of
 his blunder, exclaimed, "*Nec vitia nostra,*
 " *nec*

"*nec remedia pati possumus,*" hoping hereby to get rid of his guests; but an old matron pulled off her spectacles, and, looking the priest in his face like a Roman heroine, said, "*Noli putare me hæc auribus tuis dare.*" Others cried out to the priest to explain his Latin. "The English," said he, "is this: *Wo is me that I sojourn in Mesheck, and dwell in the tents of Kedar!* One pertly retorted, *Gladii decussati sunt gemina presbyteri clavis.* The priest confessed his error, begged pardon, and promised never more to preach against *Bundling*, or to think amiss of the custom: the ladies generously forgave him, and went away.

It may seem very strange to find this custom of *Bundling* in bed attended with so much innocence in New - England, while in Europe it is thought not safe or scarcely decent to permit a young man and maid to be together in private any-where. But in this quarter of the old world the
vicious

viciousness of the one, and the simplicity of the other, are the result merely of education and habit. It seems to be a part of heroism, among the polished nations of it, to sacrifice the virtuous fair-one, whenever an opportunity offers, and thence it is concluded that the same principles actuate those of the new world. It is egregiously absurd to judge of all countries by one. In Spain, Portugal, and Italy, jealousy reigns; in France, England, and Holland, suspicion; in the West and East Indies, lust; in New-England, superstition. These four blind deities govern Jews, Turks, Christians, Infidels, and Heathen. Superstition is the most amiable. She sees no vice with approbation but persecution, and self-preservation is the cause of her seeing that. My insular readers will, I hope, believe me, when I tell them, that I have seen, in the West-Indies, naked boys and girls (some 15 or 16 years of age) waiting at table and at tea,

tea, even when twenty or thirty virtuous English ladies were in the room; who were under no more embarrassment at such an awful sight in the eyes of English people that have not travelled abroad, than they would have been at the sight of so many servants in livery. Shall we censure the ladies of the West-Indies as vicious above all their sex, on account of this local custom? By no means; for long experience has taught the world that the West-Indian white ladies are virtuous prudes. Where superstition reigns, fanaticism will be minister of state; and the people, under the taxation of zeal, will shun what is commonly called vice with ten times more care than the polite and civilized christians, who know what is right and what is wrong from reason and revelation. Happy would it be for the world, if reason and revelation were suffered to controul the mind and passions of the great and wise men of
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the earth, as superstition does those of the simple and less polished! When America shall erect societies for the promotion of chastity in Europe, in return for the establishment of European arts in the American capitals; then Europe will discover that there is more christian philosophy in American *Bundling* than can be found in the customs of nations more polite.

I should not have said so much about *Bundling*, had not a learned Divine * of the English church published his Travels through some parts of America, wherein this remarkable custom is represented in an unfavourable light, and as prevailing among the *lower class* of people. The truth is, the custom prevails among all classes, to the great honour of the country, its religion, and ladies. The virtuous may be tempted; but the tempter is despised. Why it should be thought

* Dr. Burnaby.

incredible

incredible for a young man and a young woman innocently and virtuously to lie down together in bed with a great part of their cloaths on, I cannot conceive. Human passions may be alike in every region; but religion, diversified as it is, operates differently in different countries. Upon the whole, had I daughters now, I would venture to let them *bundle* on the bed, or even on the sofa, after a proper education, sooner than adopt the Spanish mode of forcing young people to prattle only before the lady's mother the chitchat of artless lovers. Could the four quarters of the world produce a more chaste, exemplary, and beautiful company of wives and daughters than are in Connecticut, I should not have remaining one favourable sentiment for the province. But the soil, the rivers, the ponds, the ten thousand landships, together with the virtuous and lovely women which now adorn the ancient kingdoms

doms of Connecticote, Saffacus, and Quinhipiog, would tempt me into the highest wonder and admiration of them, could they once be freed of the skunk, the moping-owl, rattle-snake, and fanatic christian.

My readers will naturally be desirous of information in what manner the people of Connecticut conducted themselves in regard to the stamp-act, which has proved the subject of so much speculation and controversy both in America and Europe: I will, therefore, give a particular account of their proceedings concerning it; which will perhaps appear to have been of far greater consequence than is generally supposed in England.

The American colonists were no sooner extricated from all danger of Gallic depredation by the peace of 1763, than they began to manifest symptoms of ingratitude and rebellion against their deliverers. Connecticut, on several accounts, particularly

ticularly that of its *free* constitution in church and state, which prevented every interruption from a King's Governor, was fixed upon as the fittest site for raising the first fruits of jealousy and disaffection. Nor did the hatred, which kept the province at eternal strife within itself on all other occasions, prevent its political coincidence upon this. In 1764, delegates from every dissenting association in America convened at Newhaven, and settled their plan of operations. They voted, that the American vine was endangered by the encroachments of the English parliament, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; that episcopacy was established in Nova-Scotia, and missionaries maintained by the English government, while New-England and other American states were taxed to support that same government; that a league and covenant ought to be made and signed by all good protestants against the machinations

nations of their enemies, and in defence of their civil and religious liberties; that it was the duty of all good protestants to stand upon their guard, and collect and send every kind of interesting intelligence to the Moderator at Hertford, whose business would be to communicate the same in his circular letters to the true friends of protestant liberty.

In my opinion, whoever does not perceive the spirit of civil as well as religious independence in this convention and these resolutions of dissenting divines, must be politically blind.

Whilst Mr. Grenville was exerting his financial faculties for the relief of the mother-country, ready to sink under the load of expence brought upon her by that war which had opened an avenue to highest exaltation for her American offspring, Connecticut was early advertised by merchants, divines, and ladies, in England, that the parliament was about to

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give

give the colonies a specimen of English burthens. The confociation ordered a fast, to deprecate the threatened judgments. This fast was served up with sermons pointing out the reigns of wicked kings, and what the fathers of the howling wilderness of America had suffered from the Kings, Lords, and Bishops, in the last century; and concluded with, "One woe is past, and behold, there come two woes more hereafter!"

A requisition having been made in 1763 that each colony in America should raise a revenue to assist Great-Britain in discharging the national debt, which had been partly incurred at their request, and for their preservation, the General Assembly was instructed by Dr. Franklin and others how to act. Accordingly, the Assembly resolved not to raise any money towards the national debt, or any national expences, till the Parliament should remove the navigation act, which, they

they said, was advantageous to Great-Britain, and disadvantageous to America; and, therefore, Great Britain, in defraying the whole of the national expence, did nothing more than justice required, so long as that act should be continued. Such were the arguments and resolution of the General Assembly, although their agent in England had informed them, that, if they refused to comply with the requisition of the minister, the Parliament would tax them.

The agent's intelligence proved to be well grounded. In 1765, the Stamp act passed, because the colonies had refused to tax themselves. News so important soon arrived in America; and the Consociation of Connecticut appointed another fast, and ordered *the angels to sound their trumpets, and great plagues followed.* Thomas Fitch, the Governor, shewed some dislike to the proceedings of the Consociation, but was given to understand

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that

that Christ's ministers acted by an authority superior to that of a Governor or a King. The episcopalians, and many sects, saw no reason for keeping the fast; but the Governor observed it with a view to secure his election the next year, and was successful. The episcopalians were rewarded for their disobedience with what was called "A new religious Comic Liturgy," which was printed and circulated through the colony, as the performance of Dr. Franklin, and acted in many towns by the young people on evenings, by way of sport and amusement. The Litany was altered in many places, especially in the paragraphs respecting the King, Nobility, &c. and instead of *We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord!* was substituted, *We beseech thee, O Cromwell! to hear [our prayers] us—O holy, blessed and glorious Trinity!* was altered thus, *O Chatham! Wilkes! and Franklin! have mercy upon*

us.

us. From plague, pestilence, famine, &c. was followed by *O Cromwell ! deliver us.* An episcopal clergyman had courage enough to complain of these blasphemous proceedings, and the grand jury indicted the comic actors ; but the magistrate to whom the complaint was made, refused to grant a warrant, using worse malediction against the King than was contained in the ludicrous Litany. Hereupon the Grand Jury indicted the magistrate for high treason, but no magistrate could be found of resolution enough to grant a warrant against the traitor. However, the Comic Liturgy was acted but privately afterwards, and, upon the repeal of the stamp-act, was suppressed as far as they could do it.

This second fast was sanctified with preaching on this and similar texts, *And there arose a new King in Egypt who remembered not Joseph ;* and with praying God to grant the King an heart of flesh,

and to remove popery out of the British Parliament.

The stamp-act was to take place in November, 1765; some months before which the stamp-master, Jared Ingersoll, Esq. who had been the colony's agent in England, arrived at Newhaven, in Connecticut. In September, a special Assembly was convened at Hertford, for the purpose of considering what steps to take. As if to avoid acknowledging the supremacy of the British Parliament, they determined not to apply themselves for the repeal of the act; but secretly encouraged a number of lawyers, merchants, and divines, to meet, by their own authority, at New-York, for that purpose. In the mean time, three mobs were raised under Durgy, Leach, and Parsons, who by different routs marched towards Newhaven to seize the stamp-master. They succeeded; and, having brought their prisoner before the Assembly-house at Hertford,

ford, they gave him the alternative to resign or die. Mr. Ingersoll appealed several times by confidential messengers to the Assembly then sitting; but finding them inclined to countenance the mob, he was forced to resign, and authenticate the same by whirling first his hat and next his wig three times round his head, and then into the air; whilst the General Assembly and Confociation (which last venerable body never fails to be ready with its counsel and assistance on all salutary occasions) shouted with the multitude, from their windows, at the glorious achievement.

This special Assembly, having sufficiently manifested the part they wished the colony to take, broke up, leaving further proceedings to the mob*, who
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* The following instance will shew that a Connecticut mob of *Sober Dissenters* is not inferior to a London mob of *drunken conformists*, either in

continued to act up to the specimen already given ; and to the congress at New York, which

point of ingenuity, low humour, or religious mockery:

The *stamp-master* was declared by the mob at Hertford to be dead. The mob at Lebanon undertook to send INGERSOL *to his own place*. They made three effigies : one to represent Mr. Grenville ; another Ingersol ; and a third, the Devil. The last was dressed with a wig, hat, and black coat, given by parson Solomon Williams, of Lebanon. Mr. Grenville was honoured with a hat, wig, and coat, a present from Mr. Jonathan Trumbull, who was afterwards chosen Governor. Mr. Ingersol was dressed in red, with a lawyer's wig, a wooden sword, and his hat under his left arm, by the generosity of Joseph Trumbull. Thus equipped, the effigies were put into a cart with ropes about their necks, and drawn towards the gallows. A dialogue ensued between the criminals. Some friendship seemed to subsist between Mr. Grenville and the Devil, while nothing but sneers and frowns passed from the Devil to Ingersol ; and the fawning reverence of the latter gave his infernal highness such offence, that he turned up his breech and discharged fire, brimstone,

which met there accordingly, agreed upon and transmitted to England a petition for a repeal of the obnoxious act.

The

stone, and tar, in Ingersol's face, setting him all in a blaze; which, however, Mr. Grenville generously extinguished with a squirt. This was many times repeated. As the procession advanced, the mob exclaimed, "Behold the just reward of our agent, who sold himself to Grenville, like Judas, *at a price!*" In this manner the farce was continued till midnight, at which time they arrived at the gallows; where a person in a long shirt, in derision of the surplice of a church clergyman, addressed the criminals with republican atticisms, ralleries, &c. concluding thus: "May your deaths be tedious and intolerable, and may your souls *sink quick down to hell*, the residence of tyrants, traitors, and devils!" The effigies were then turned off, and, after hanging some time, were hoisted upon the top of a huge pile of wood, and burnt, that their bodies might share a similar fate with their souls. This pious transaction exalted the character of Mr. Trumbull, and facilitated his election to the office of Governor: and what was of further advantage to him, his mob judged that the bones of Ingersol's effigy merited

The October session of the General-Assembly is always holden at Newhaven :
there

rited christian burial according to the rites of the church of England, though he had been brought up a Sober Dissenter; and resolved, therefore, to bury his bones in Hebron. Accordingly thither they repaired; and, having made a coffin, dug a grave in a cross street, and made every other preparation for the interment, they sent for the episcopal clergyman there to attend the funeral of the bones of Ingersol the traitor. The clergyman told the messengers that neither his office nor person were to be sported with, nor was it his business to bury *Sober Dissenters*, who abuse the church while living. The mob, enraged at this answer, ordered a party to bring the clergyman by force, or send him to hell after Ingersol. This alarmed the people of the town, who instantly loaded their muskets in defence of the clergyman. Thus checked in their mad career, the mob contented themselves with a solemn funeral procession, drums beating, and horns blowing, and buried the coffin in the cross street, one of the pantomimes bawling out, *We commit this traitor's bones to the earth, ashes to dust and dust to ashes, in sure and certain hope that his soul is in hell with all tories and enemies*
of

there and then they were informed by Mr. Dyer *, who had made one of the petitioners at New-York, that it was recommended by the Congress for the colonial Governors to take the oath prescribed by the stamp act. The General Assembly, however, voted that the Governor of Connecticut should not take it; and moreover determined to continue

of Zion. Then, having driven a stake through the coffin, and each cast a stone upon the grave, they broke a few windows, cursed such clergymen as rode in chaises and were above the controul of God's people, and went off with a witlefs saying, viz. "It is better to live with the church militant " than with the church triumphant."

* This Mr. Dyer had been in England, had petitioned for, and, through Dr. Franklin's interest, obtained a new office at the port of New-London, viz. that of Comptroller; but afterwards had thought proper to resign that office, in order to be made a judge of the superior court and one of the council,---and, forsooth, that a stranger only might serve the King of Great Britain in the character of a *publican* in Connecticut.

Mr.

Mr. Fitch in his office, notwithstanding the disfranchisement incident on his refusal, if he would be guided by their advice; and the Rev. Mr. Ebenezer Devotion, one of the Representatives, and Eliphalet Dyer (above mentioned), one of the council, offered to pay the imposed fine of 1000*l*. However, the Governor presented himself before the Council, whose business it was to administer the oath; but which, it is thought, Mr. Fitch presumed would be denied, and therefore artfully devised this means at once of avoiding the oath and shifting the penalties from himself upon them. Seven out of twelve, suspecting the Governor's design, put their fingers in their ears, shuffled their feet, and ran groaning out of the house; the other five staid, and administered the oath, with a view to save themselves and the charter, and direct the wrath of the people against the Governor; but in this they were mistaken, in-

curring

curing in common with him the odium of the patriots.

The stamp-act having thus gained footing, the Assembly broke up. Legal proceedings also were discontinued, and the courts of justice shut. The Conso-ciation and Associations kept frequent fasts of their own appointment, praying and preaching against Roman-Catholic rulers, Arminian governors, false-hearted counsellors, and episcopizing curates. Hereupon the mobs became outrageous: sedition was law, and rebellion gospel. The late stamp-master was called a traitor to his country, and the episcopals enemies to Zion and liberty.

The fastings, prayers, and riots, brought about a revolution in the colony. Fitch, who had taken, and the five assistants who had administered, the oath, as well as many officers both civil and military, who declined to take a rebellious part, were dismissed from their posts; and
a new

a new Governor, other counsellors, &c. were chosen, and the people fitted for every kind of mischief; all, however, under the pretence of religion and liberty. The patriotic Mr. Dyer distinguished himself by furnishing the fasting ministers with proper materials to inflame the minds of the people against the just demands of the King. One of his Machiavelian dogma's was, that the King claimed the colonies as his patrimony, and intended to raise a revenue in each province; and that, having gained this point, his purpose was to govern England by America, and America by England, and thereby subvert liberty and establish tyranny in both, as the Kings of France had done by means of the various parliaments in that country. Mr. Dyer declared he had this information from the best authority in England; and added, that the liberties of both countries depended on America resisting the stamp-

stamp-act, even unto blood. These and such-like reveries supplied the ministers of the gospel with a great body of political divinity, and the mob with courage to break churchmens windows, and cry out, "No Bishops! no popery! nor " King, Lords, and Tyrants!" Every thing but decency and order over-run the colony. Indeed, the General Assembly kept up their meetings, but it was only to transact such business as was not affected by the stamp-act. The mobs of the fasting ministers continued their lawless proceedings, without further interruption and impediment than what they met with from the strenuous exertions of the King's friends, who had repeatedly saved the lives of the stamp-master, Governor Fitch, the five rejected counsellors, the episcopal clergy, and many good subjects, at the hazard of their own, though they could not preserve them from daily abuse and insult.

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The mobs, having been spirited up and trained to violence and outrage for several months, began to give some alarm even to their instigators, especially as they were hitherto disappointed in their expectations of the act being repealed. The Governor and Council, therefore, directing their attention to the dangerous consequences of the lawless state and refractory temper the people were in, and being struck with the foresight of their own perilous situation, resolved, early in 1766, to open the courts of law under the stamp-act, if the very next packet did not bring certain advice of its repeal ; and, all parties, who had causes depending in any court, were to be duly notified by the Governor's proclamation. This determination was no less mortifying to the mob than grateful to the King's friends, who were convinced that the stamp-act ought, both in policy and justice, to be enforced, and therefore had risked their lives,

lives, fortunes, characters, and colonial honours in its support. The patriots, now apparently sickened, with licentiousness, became very complaisant to the loyalists, declaring that, in all their opposition to the stamp-act, they had meant nothing personal, and desiring to have past animosities buried in oblivion. All things thus settled, tranquillity seemed to be returning; when, lo! the packet arrived with the fatal news of the repeal of the stamp-act. Then a double portion of madness seized the patriots, who, in their excess of joy, *that victory was gained over the beast, and over his mark*, utterly forgot their late penitential and tranquil professions; branding the King's friends with the appellations of tories, jacobites, and papists. The gospel ministers left off their fasting, and turned their mourning into joy and triumph. "Now we behold," said they in their pulpits, "that Great-Britain is afraid of us; for the

A a " stamp-

" stamp-act is repealed, even upon the
 " petition of an illegal body of men : if,
 " therefore, we stand fast *in the liberties*
 " *wherein Christ has made us free*, we
 " need not fear in future the usurpations
 " of the King, Lords, and Bishops of
 " England." The accompanying claim of
 Parliament to the power of binding Ame-
 rica in all cases whatsoever, was, indeed,
 a thorn which galled them much; but
 they found a salvo in ordering a copy of
 the repeal to be burnt under the gallows
 by the common hangman. The General
 Assembly also stepped forward, and voted
 the populace several barrels of powder
 and puncheons of rum, together with
 100*l.* in money, to celebrate the festival.
 A tremendous mob met together at Hert-
 ford, and received their present. The
 powder was placed in a large brick school,
 and the rum on the common square.
 While each one was contending for his
 share, the powder took fire, and blew
 up

up the school, killing 15 or 16 persons, and wounding many. This disaster shook the house where the Confociation was sitting; upon which they resolved that Heaven did not approve of their rejoicings, because the repeal was but partial; they, therefore, ordered a new fast to do away the iniquities of that day, and to implore the Supreme to direct them in what manner to guard against the machinations of *the locusts, who had a king over them, whose name in the Hebrew tongue is Abaddon, but in the Greek Apollyon.*

This fast was cooked up with a favourite text in New-England, viz. "*He re-proved even Kings for their sake.*" From these words the preachers proved that the King's *power lay in his mouth and in his tail, which, like a serpent, did hurt for a month and a year*; and that God would protect his people against *the murders, the sorceries, the fornication, the thefts*, of bishops, popes, and

A a 2 kings,

kings, and make nations angry, and give them power to judge and to destroy those who would destroy his prophets and his saints. In this day of great humiliation, the prophets entertained the saints with a spice of rejoicing, because *Victory was gotten over the beast, and over his image, and over his mark, and over the number of his name* : — “therefore,” said they, “rejoice, O inhabitants of the earth and of the sea, because we can yet buy and sell without the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name.”

This bombastic declamation against the authority of Great-Britain raised the passions of a great portion of the multitude higher than was intended. They had lately been tutored to form high notions of their own consequence, had been intoxicated with a life of confusion in a lawless country, and had now no relish for a government of any kind whatever : accordingly, inflamed by the rhapsodies of the preachers,

preachers, they set themselves against that of the colony ; arguing, that, if the Lord would *reprove Kings, Lords, and Bishops, for their sake*, he would also *reprove governors, magistrates, and consociations, for their sake*. This revolt of a part of the people was encouraged and strengthened by the adherents of Governor Fitch, the five discarded counsellors, and the loyalists ; so that very formidable bodies soon appeared in divers towns, threatening destruction to the General Assembly, consociation, associations, executive courts, &c. &c. Colonel Street Hall, of Wallingford, a loyalist, was appointed General over these supreme multitudes. They soon acquainted the General Assembly and Consociation, that, by the authority that England had been reformed, by the same authority should Connecticut be reformed ; and Mr. Hall sent a letter to the judges of the county court, then sitting at Newhaven, purporting, that it was not

agreeable to the people for them to continue their proceedings, or that any executions should be granted; and concluding thus, "*You, that have ears to hear, bear what is said unto you;—for we shall quickly come!*" The judges, without hesitation or adjournment, ran out of court, and went home as privately as possible. The merchants, the gospel ministers, the lawyers, and judges, who had with great zeal inculcated the divine right of the people to resist kings, found themselves in a starving condition under the exertion of that boasted right. The General Assembly and Association, however, again convened, and, after much fasting and prayer, resolved, that the conduct of Street Hall, Esq. and his associates, was seditious and treasonable; and ordered the Attorney-General, Colonel Elihu Hall, to indict his nephew Street Hall, for treasonable practices. The Attorney-General refused to comply with their mandate, where-

whereupon he was dismissed, and James Hillhouse, Esq. appointed in his place, who indited Street Hall; but no sheriff dared serve the warrant. Street Hall ordered his people to prepare for battle, and to be ready at a minute's warning; and rode about with one servant in defiance of the General Assembly, who likewise prepared to support their power. It was most likely that Street Hall would have prevailed, had an engagement taken place; for the episcopals, and all the friends of Mr. Fitch and the five dismissed counsellors, would have supported Mr. Hall. But a battle was prevented by the interposition of the Confociation with this curious Gospel axiom, viz. that it was legal and politic in the people to oppose and resist the foreign power which was unjustly claimed by the King of Great-Britain; but it was neither politic nor right to oppose the magistrates and laws made by themselves. They prevailed on Street Hall to

condescend to write to the General Assembly, to this effect: "That he was a
 " friend to the laws and constitution of
 " the colony, and wished to support both;
 " and should do it, on condition that
 " they would rescind their vote, and
 " that no one should be prosecuted for
 " what had been done by him and
 " his associates."—The Assembly very
 gladly voted this overture of Street Hall
 to be satisfactory; and thus peace was
 re-established between the Assembly and
 Street Hall. Nevertheless, Mr. Hall was
 greatly censured by his partizans for this
 compromise; and he lived in constant
 expectation of their hanging him, till he
 softened them by this remarkable address
 in vindication of his conduct:

"We have done," said he, "every
 " thing in our power to support the autho-
 " rity of the British parliament over the
 " colonies. We have lost our property,
 " local reputations, and all colonial of-
 " fices

“ fices and respect among our own coun-
 “ trymen, in defence of that King and
 “ Parliament, who have not shed a tear
 “ at our sufferings, nor failed to sacrifice
 “ their own dignity, and their best friends,
 “ to please a party that will never be easy
 “ until another Oliver arise to extirpate
 “ Kings, Lords, and Bishops. By hea-
 “ vens !” added Street Hall, with great
 energy, “ I will rest my life upon this
 “ single question, Who would stand up in
 “ defence of a King who prefers his ene-
 “ mies to his friends?—If you acquit me,
 “ I shall more fully declare my prin-
 “ ciples.”

The mob, after much consideration,
 declared their approbation of Mr. Hall's
 conduct ; upon which he resumed his
 address nearly as follows :

“ Gentlemen, We have once been be-
 “ trayed and forsaken by the King and
 “ Parliament of Great-Britain ; no de-
 “ pendence, then, ought henceforth to be
 “ placed

“ placed upon either. It is plain to me,
 “ that, if we had extirpated the General
 “ Assembly, and all the avowed enemies
 “ of the constitution of Great-Britain, yet
 “ that very Parliament would have been
 “ the first of all the creation to honour us
 “ with a gallows for our reward. I
 “ therefore swear, by Him who controuls
 “ the wheels of time, that, in future, I
 “ will support the laws and dignity of this
 “ colony, and never more *put any confi-*
 “ *dence in Princes*, or the British Parlia-
 “ ment. The Saviour of the World
 “ trusted Judas but once; and it is my opi-
 “ nion, that those who betray and forsake
 “ their friends, ought to experience the
 “ wrath and ingratitude of friends turned
 “ enemies. In this case, baseness is po-
 “ licy; ingratitude, loyalty; and revenge,
 “ ---heroic virtue!”

Colonel Street Hall spoke with great
 vehemence, and might be censured for
 his rashness by people who were not in
 America

America at the time : but his sentiments reached the hearts of half the King's friends there ; for the repeal of the stamp-act had fixed in their breasts an everlasting hatred of the fickle temper of Britons.

Few people, hereafter, will advance sixpence in support of any acts of the Parliament of Great-Britain over her colonies. Prior to the year 1766, such a public spirit prevailed in America over private interest, as would naturally have led the people to conform to any acts of a British Parliament, from a deep-rooted confidence that the requisitions of Britain would be no other than the requisitions of wisdom and necessity. Two thirds, I may say with safety, of all the people in America, thought there were wisdom and justice in the stamp-act, and wished to have it continued, first, because they were sensible of being greatly indebted to the generosity and protection of Britain ; secondly, because they had rather be subject to the controul

controul of Parliament in regard to a revenue, than have it raised by the authority of their own assemblies, who favour the rich and oppress the poor ; and, thirdly, because the stamp-act would have prevented innumerable suits at law, the costs of which in Connecticut have, during the last forty years, amounted to ten times as much as all others for war, gospel, physic, the poor, &c. &c. &c. It is impossible to describe the disappointment and mortification they suffered by the repeal of that act : it exposed them to calumny, derision, and oppression ; it disheartened all, and occasioned the defection of many ; whilst their adversaries triumphed in the encouragement it had given them to prosecute their malicious schemes against the church, king, laws, and commerce of England. However, in regard to the question of raising a revenue in America, I have never met with one American who would not allow (though unwilling-ly)

ly) the reasonableness of it, with certain conditions and provisos. Thus, 1. the judges and lawyers required the tax to be imposed by the General Assembly of each province:—2. The merchants, whose conscience is gain, and who commonly constitute more than half of the Assembly, declared, that, before any revenue was raised, the navigation - act should be repealed, and the East-India Company, and all the monopolies, dissolved:—3. The Gospel ministers, whose power in New-England is terrible to flesh and spirit, would contribute to a revenue, after the King and Parliament had dropped their claim to supreme authority over America, and secured the American vine, against the domination and usurpations of bishops. To these sources may be traced all the objections ever made against a revenue in America, which spring from three orders of men, of the least real benefit to that country, and whose proportion to all others there is not as one to an hundred;

hundred ; though they have had the art and address, by imposition and delusion, to involve them in their tumultuous, contentious, and ruinous projects and undertakings.—Indeed, the clergy, lawyers, and merchants of European countries, have been represented, as the worst enemies of society—the great promoters of discord, war, insurrections, and rebellions ; but the heathen have not yet given us an example how depraved mankind would be without them. However, supposing the crimination to have foundation, there is one good reason to be offered in palliation of it. Most governments are too apt to adopt the maxim of rewarding prosperous opposing zealots ; whilst the exertions of oppressed friends are passed over, if not with contempt, at least with silent neglect. Hence, men will naturally be induced, in defiance of law and gospel, to head parties, to become consequential in the world.

APPENDIX.

A P P E N D I X.

THE preceding sheets bring the history of Connecticut to its latest period of amity with Great Britain, agreeable to the plan on which it was begun. I have been advised, however, to lay before my readers, in an appendix, a summary account of the proceedings of the people of Connecticut immediately leading to their open commencement of hostilities against the Mother-Country, not only because some events are not at all, or erroneously known here, but also because they will form a supplement necessary in several instances to what has been already related. Another reason which induces me to make the proposed addition, is, the opportunity it will give me of laying before the Public, by way of introduction, some matter which, I flatter myself,

myself, may not be wholly undeserving the attention of Government, at, I trust, an approaching signal æra in British and American history. This, I am sure of, that no chimæra of vanity, but a thorough conviction in my own breast of the foundation they have in truth, is the sole motive of my thus committing my thoughts upon the subject to the press.

Many writers have endeavoured to point out the motive which prompted the Americans to the wish of being independent of Great-Britain, who had, for a century and a half, nursed and protected them, with parental tenderness; but they have only touched upon the reasons ostensibly held up by the Americans, but which are merely a veil to the true causes. These, therefore, I shall endeavour to set before the reader, unheeding the imputation of arrogance and presumption I may expose myself to, and relying upon the knowledge I have of
the

the temper and circumstances of the people for the justification of my assertions.

In the first place, England, as if afraid to venture her constitution in America, has kept it at an awful distance, and established in too many of her colonies republicanism, wherein the democratic absorbs the regal and aristocratic parts of the English constitution. The people naturally imbibed the idea that they were superior to Kings and Lords, because they controuled their representatives, governors, and their councils. This is the infallible consequence of popular governments.

Secondly, the English have, like the Dutch, adopted the errors of ancient Rome, who judged her colonies could be held in subjection only by natives of Rome; and therefore all emoluments were carefully with-held from natives of colonies.

Thirdly, the learned and opulent families in America have not been honoured

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by

by their King, like those born in Britain.

Fourthly, the Americans saw themselves despised by the Britons, “*though bone of their bone, and flesh of their flesh:*” they felt, and complained of, without redress, the sad effects of convicts, the curses of human society, and the disgrace of England, taken from the dungeons, jails, and gibbets, and poured into America as the common shore of England, to murder, plunder, and commit outrage upon a people “*whom the King did not delight to honour.*”

Hence the present rebellion. Human nature is always such, that men will never cease struggling for honour, wealth, and power, at the expence of gratitude, loyalty, and virtue. Indignation and despair seized the gentlemen in America, who thought, like Haman, that their affluence and ease were nothing worth, so long as they lay under their Sovereign’s
con-

contempt. They declared that the insult reached the whole continent, in which are to be found only two Baronets of Great-Britain, while all the other inhabitants are held beneath the yeomanry of England. They added, "Let Cæsar tremble! let wealth and private property depart to deliver our country from the injuries of our elder brethren." How easily might this rebellion have been averted by the *babiole* of titles! With what reason factions and discontents sprung up in South-America, may be learned from the dear-bought wisdom of Spain. The Spaniards born in the vice-royalties of Peru and New Granada, rich and learned, highly esteemed by their countrymen, and of more influence in their several provinces than all the nobility, clergy, and merchants, in Spain; whose fathers, to enlarge the empire of their sovereign, emigrated, with the natural rights of Spaniards, to almost a burning

B b 2

world,

world, where they opened rocky mines, toiled in heats and rains to hew out gold and silver, to erect and cover royal and noble domes and pave the roads of Hesperia;—those American-born Spaniards, I say, were yet, after all, excluded from royal honours and trust, by a false and disgraceful principle that colonists will only be loyal when poor and neglected—a maxim which shook ancient Rome, failed Spain, and has thrown Britain into convulsions;—a maxim false in nature and experience, without justice and without policy;—and, yet, a maxim which men in power have adopted with intention to secure to themselves and their posterity the monopoly of *noble blood*—without once reflecting, that emigrants, who had been hardy enough to storm rugged mountains in the transatlantic world, for the sake of converting poverty into riches, would afterwards seek *honours and noble names* through blaze and ruin,

ruin, with more avidity than adventurers under *Pizarro* ever sought the wealth of Potosi and La Plata. Had the Dons of Spain been actuated by principles of justice, they would not have treated the Spanish natives of South America as aliens, as a race of beings unworthy of royal notice, trust, and dignity, which they themselves enjoyed, though they had never wet their fingers in exploring new worlds, or in perforating the golden Andes.—But experience and necessity cut short their pride; and compelled them to liberal dealings with their distant brethren, on pain of losing them as they had lost the Netherlands. No good politician will suppose merit less deserving of reward, merely because the possessor of it was born at the distance of 5000 miles from Madrid; or that royal favours belong solely to the nobility, who shine more from their ancestors virtues than from their own. Spain took the hint in time, and shared

B b 3

royal

royal honours amongst her younger brethren, which produced a conciliation between her dominions in the two worlds, that age or despair can never destroy.—Spain transported to her colonies her own constitution in church and state — rewarded merit in whatever part of her territories it appeared — sent bishops to govern and ordain in every church in South America, and they, together with the native noblesse, promote harmony, the offspring of justice and policy ; while North America abounds with discord, hatred, and rebellion, entirely from the want of policy and justice in their party-coloured charters, and of the honours and privileges of natural-born subjects of Great Britain.

It appears to me, that the British government, in the last century, did not expect New-England to remain under their authority; nor did the New-Englanders consider themselves as subjects, but allies,
of

of Great-Britain. It seems that England's intent was to afford an asylum to the republicans who had been a scourge to the British constitution ; and so, to encourage that restless party to emigrate, republican charters were granted, and privileges and promises given them far beyond what an Englishman in England is entitled to. The emigrants were empowered to make laws, in church and state, agreeable to their own will and pleasure, without the King's approbation—they were excused from all quit-rents, all government taxes, and promised protection without paying homage to the British King, and their children entitled to the same rights and privileges as if born in England. However hard this bargain was on the side of England, she has performed her part, except in this last respect---indeed the most material in policy and in the minds of the principal gentlemen of New-England. The honour of nobility has not been

B b 4. conferred.

conferred on any of them ; and therefore they have never enjoyed the full privileges and liberties of Britons ; but in a degree have ever been held in bondage under their chartered republican systems, wherein gentlemen of learning and property attain not to equal power with the peasants. The people of New-England are rightly stiled republicans ; but a distinction should be made between the learned and unlearned, the rich and poor. The latter form a great majority ; the minority, therefore, are obliged to wear the livery of the majority, in order to secure their election into office. Those very republican gentlemen are ambitious, fond of the power of governing, and grudge no money nor pains to obtain an annual office. What would they not give for a dignity depending not on the fickle will of a multitude, but on the steady reason and generosity of a King ? The merchants, lawyers, and clergy, to appearance are
republicans ;

republicans ; but I will venture to assert, that not one in a hundred of them is really so. The truth is, they found necessity on one hand, and British neglect on the other, to be so intolerable, that they rather chose to risque their lives and fortunes to bring about a revolution, than continue in the situation they were. As to the multitude, they had no cause of complaint : they were accuser, judge, king, and subjects only to themselves.—The rebellion springs not from them, but the merchants, lawyers, and clergy, who yet are not inimical to the aristocratic branch of government, provided they are admitted to share in it according to their merit. It is true, they, like Calvin, the author of their religion, maintain, that no man can merit any thing of the Great Eternal : nevertheless, they think they have merited the aristocratic honours which emanate from earthly kings ; while kings and nobles of the earth imagine themselves to have

have merited more than they yet enjoy, even heaven itself, only because they happen to be descendants of heroic ancestors.

It is laid down as a maxim in English politics, that the aristocratic dignity is the great barrier between regal and popular power. Had Charles the First believed and observed this doctrine, he had saved his own life and the liberties of his people; and had Kings since his death entertained the same opinion of the Nobility, they would have multiplied and spread them in every province as a royal blessing due to their subjects. Would Britons consent to give up the House of Lords? If not, why should they wish to debar America from such a favour? Should the English nobility imagine their own importance lessened by the increase of English Lords, they will not be able to prove that an American peerage would not be as useful in that country as an English peerage is here. Policy and experience
shew

shew that mankind are bound by their interest and guided by their prospects ; yet how remiss has England been in tempting her colonies with her own noble and glorious constitution ! Is it at all surprizing, that, after a long sufferance of such neglect, and the evils I have pointed out, the hidden fire of indignation should at length break forth in America, with a blaze that spreads ruin and death throughout that land, and strikes terror into this ! England *now* condescends to view the Americans as fellow-subjects, and even treats with their generals, though taken from jails and outlawed by herself : early justice and indulgence would have removed from the parent this humiliating conduct, and united both worlds in one bond of love.—*But the day is far spent, and will not wrath burn for ever ?*

England has also been as careful to keep to herself her religion and Bishops as her civil constitution and baronies.

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An Indian chief once asked me, "Whether Bishops were too good or too bad for America?" He added, "If they are good in England, why not in America? and if bad, why preserved in England?" A million of churchmen in America have been considered not worthy of one bishop, while eight millions in South Britain, are scarcely honoured enough with twenty-six: an insult on common justice, which would have extinguished every spark of affection in America for the English church, and created an everlasting schism like that between Constantinople and Rome, had not the majority of the American episcopal clergy been possessed of less ambition than love and zeal. They have suffered on both sides the Atlantic in *name* * and property, for

* William Smith, in his History of New-York, p. 56, like his brother Douglas, asserts, that the missionaries and episcopal clergy have been guilty of

for their endeavours to keep up a union
between the mother and her children;
but

of writing home to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel “amazing falshoods and misrepresentations;” and he adds, “that it would be an agreeable office to him to distinguish the innocent from the guilty.” Then why not so prove his charge? Because, says he, in p. 242, “the prudent historian of his own times will always be a
“coward, and never give fire, till death protects
“him from the malice and stroke of his enemy:” a sentiment borrowed from the old adage, *Mortui non mordent*, and truly worthy of the writer. But what have been Mr. Smith's character and *prudence* since the commencement of the present rebellion? Did he not, in 1774, out of his great veneration for christianity, liberty, and his king, excite and encourage the mobs of New-York in their opposition to the church, laws, and George III? —In 1775, did not he and his associates, finding themselves insufficient to effect their glorious purposes, request the assistance of their christian brethren of Connecticut against the mighty enemies of the American Vine, who accordingly repaired thither under the conduct of Waterbury and Wooster, two villains that were *conceived in sin*
and

but all their arguments and persuasions were insufficient to convince their brethren that England would in future be

and from the womb went speaking lies? Did not they soon become masters of the city, and intolerable tyrants over loyal subjects?—In 1776, did not Mr. Smith's mob plunder the city of New-York, not excepting the churches and college; then set it on fire, and fly by the blaze into the howling wilderness, with the heroes mentioned in his History, viz. Livingston, Schuyler, Morris, and other traitors? From whence, in 1777, did not Mr. Smith return to New-York, by the advice of his comrades, to manifest his loyalty and love of the protestant religion, to serve the Congress and his King, and to save harmless the rebels above-mentioned, and their copartners in murder, plunder, and treason? Are these the virtues, William Smith! that, in 1780, were so conspicuous, as to procure thy being appointed Chief Justice of a sacked and ruined people?—*The imprudent historian of his own times is no coward*, nor does he fear thy malice, which, above all things, except thy hypocrisy and treachery, *passes all human understanding*.—"Quelques uns dirent, c'est par Beelze-
"bul qu'il chasse les démons." Les autres dirent, que sa mere tenoit de l'air de Marie Magdelaine, après que la sage-femme eut chassée trois démons.

more

more generous towards her colonies—One of the first fruits of the grand continental meeting of dissenting divines at Newhaven was a coalition between the republican and the minor part of the episcopal clergy, who were soon joined by the merchants, lawyers, and planters, with a view of procuring titles, ordination, and government, independent of Great Britain, who had too long played with *divide & impera*.

Of such fort, I am bold to pronounce to the world, were the REAL sources of the present rebellion in America. The invasion of this or that colonial right, the oppression of this or that act of parliament, were merely the pretended causes of it, which the ill-humour of a misgoverned people prompted them eagerly to hold up; causes, which would never have found existence, whose existence had never been necessary, if a better system of American policy had been adopted, but being produced, the shadow of complaint was exhibited

exhibited instead of the substance—pretence, instead of reality—every republican pulpit resounded with invectives against the King, Lords, and Commons, who claimed a power to tax and govern the people of America; a power which their charters and ancestors knew nothing of. “Britons,” said they, “call our property theirs; they consider us as slaves, as *bewers of wood, and drawers of water*, to the descendants of those tyrants in church and state, who in the last century expelled and persecuted our fathers into the wilds of America. We have charters sacred as *Magna Charta* and the Bill of Rights.” They declared that the liberties of America ought to be defended with the blood of millions; that the Attorney General ought to impeach the Parliament of Great-Britain, and all its abettors, of high-treason, for daring to tax the freemen of America; that each colony was a palatinate, and the people

people the palatine; that the people of Connecticut had as much authority to issue a writ of *Quo Warranto* against *Magna Charta*, as the King had to order such a writ against the charter of Connecticut.

By ravings of this kind did the Sober Dissenters manifest their discontents, when the various measures for raising a revenue in America were adopted by the British ministry. That of sending tea to America in 1773, subject to a duty of 3*d.* in the pound, payable there, particularly excited their clamour, as designed, they said, to establish a precedent of British taxation in that country; and, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the loyalists, who strenuously exerted themselves in removing vulgar prejudices, and procuring a reconciliation with circumstances rendered unavoidable by the necessity of the times, they effectually inflamed the minds of the populace, by reading, in

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the meetings on Sundays, letters said to have been sent by Dr. Franklin, J. Temple, and a certain female writer in England, representing the danger of paying any tax imposed by Parliament, and the evils protestantism was threatened with by a Roman Catholic King, by jacobites, tories, and the episcopal clergy in both countries, all enemies to liberty and the American vine; and adding, that, if the Americans paid the tax on tea, there were 300 other taxes ready to be imposed upon them, one of which was "50*l.* for every son born in wedlock, to maintain the natural children of the Lords and Bishops in England."

The moderate counsel of the loyalists had formerly been attended with some effect; but it was forced to give place to the ribaldry just mentioned; and an opposition much more resolute was determined upon against the tea-act than had been made to the stamp-act. A provincial

cial congress, committees of correspondence, committees of safety in every town, &c. &c. now started up, for the purpose of setting the colony in an uproar against the parliament of Great-Britain. To this end contributed not a little the falsehoods and artifices of Mr. Hancock and other Bostonian merchants, who had in their storehouses near 40,000 half-boxes of teas smuggled from the Dutch, which would never have been sold, had the Company's teas been once admitted into America, as the latter were not only the better in quality, but, the duty being reduced from 1s. to 3d. would be also the much cheaper commodity. Mr. Hancock and his compatriots, therefore, were by no means wanting in endeavours to procure the first teas which arrived in New-England the reception they met with *in the harbour* of Boston. That famous exploit afforded them an opportunity of clearing their warehouses, which they prudently resolv-

ed to do as soon as possible, lest the reception of the Company's tea in other provinces, or other possible circumstances, should afterwards put it out of their power. An idea began to prevail, that a non-importation of tea was an adviseable measure upon the present occasion; accordingly, they advertised, that, after disposing of their present stock, they would not import, or have any further dealings in tea, for two years. This at once tended to fill their pockets and exalt their characters as patriots. The people, ignorant of the largeness of such stock, and apprehensive of being deprived of an article they were passionately fond of, eagerly furnished themselves with quantities sufficient for that time, mostly of about 30, 40, or 50 pounds, notwithstanding the price was advanced 1s. per pound, upon the pretence of raising money to pay for the tea destroyed in order to secure the religion and liberty of America, which, under that
idea,

idea, it was generally acknowledged ought to be done. When the tea was mostly disposed of, the people found that the extra price they had given for it was designed for the venders, instead of the East-India Company, whose tea at the bottom of the harbour was not to be paid for. They murmured; whereupon the smugglers voted, that they would not drink any more tea, but burn on the common what they had left. Some tea was so disposed of, and the public-spirited transaction blazoned in the newspapers. But this was not all: the smugglers sent letters to the leaders of mobs in the country, enjoining them to wait upon the purchasers of their tea, and compel them to burn it as a proof of their patriotism. Those honourable instructions were obeyed, to the real grievance of the holders of the tea. "Let Mr. Hancock," said they, "and the other merchant smugglers, return us our money, and then you shall be

“ welcome to burn the tea, according to
“ their orders.” But it signified nothing to
dispute the equity of the requisition : the
cry was “ Join or die !” nor would the
sons of liberty be satisfied with any-thing
less, than that each owner of tea should
with his own hands bring forth the same,
and burn it ; and then sign a declaration,
that he had acted in this affair voluntarily,
and without any compulsion whatever ;
and, moreover, pay the printer for in-
serting it in the newspaper.

An act of parliament for shutting up
the port of Boston was the immediate
consequence of the destruction of the
East-India Company's tea. It took place
in June, 1774 ; and was considered by
the Americans as designed to reduce the
Bostonians “ to the most servile and mean
“ compliance ever attempted to be im-
“ posed on a free people ; and allowed to
“ be infinitely more alarming and dange-
“ rous to their common liberties, than even
“ that

“that hydra the stamp-act.” Due care had been taken to ensure its inforcement, by sending General Gage as Governor to Boston, where he arrived the preceding month, with a number of troops. Determined, however, as the Parliament seemed on compulsion, the colonists were equally bent on resistance, and resolved upon a continental congress to direct their operations. In the mean time, contributions for relieving the distressed people in Boston were voted by the colonies; and Connecticut, through the officiousness of its Governor, had the honour of setting an example by raising the first. Every town which did not subscribe to the support of the Bostonians was stigmatized as a tory town. The first that refused was loyal Hebron. There it was voted, “That, when the people of Boston should have paid for the teas that were destroyed, and behave like honest men, the town would give them support,

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if their port was not opened by the King;" —a vote, which, for a time, put a stop to further collections in the province. The patriots imputed it to the influence of the Rev. Mr. Peters (of whom I have already spoken) and his family. Many were the attempts tried to ruin his character, but unsuccessfully:—he was too well beloved and befriended in the town.

Falshood and sedition had now for some time been every day increasing in the province; and men, who were secret propagators of traitorous opinions, pretended in public to look up to the Conso-ciation, the great focus of divine illumination, for direction. After much fasting and praying, that holy leaven discovered an admirable method of advancing the blessed work of protestant liberty. The doors of prisons were opened, and prisoners became leaders of mobs composed of negroes, vagabonds, and thieves, who had much to gain and nothing to lose.

lose. The besom of destruction first cleared away the creditors of the renegadoes ; and then the Sandemanians, presbyterians, and episcopalians. The unfortunate complained to the governor and magistrates of the outrages of those banditti, begging the protection of the laws. The following was the best answer returned by the magistrates : “ The proceedings of which you complain, are like the acts of parliament : but be this as it may, we are only servants of the people, in whom all power centers, and who have assumed their natural right to judge and act for themselves.” The loyalists armed to defend their property against those public thieves, but the liberty boys were instantly honoured with the presence of ministers, deacons, and justices, who caused the grand jury to indict, as tories and rioters, those who presumed to defend their houses, and the courts fined and imprisoned them.

Thus

Thus horridly, by night and day, were the mobs driven on by the hopes of plunder, and the pleasures of domineering over their superiors.—Having sent terror and lamentation through their own colony, the incarnate fiends paid a visit to the episcopalians of Great Barrington, in the western confines of Massachusetts-Bay, whose numbers exceeded that of the *Sober Dissenters*. Their wrath chiefly fell upon the Rev. Mr. Bostwick and David Ingersol, Esq. The former was lashed with his back to a tree, and almost killed; but, on account of the fits of his wife and mother, and the screamings of the women and children, the mob released him upon his signing their league and covenant. As to Mr. Ingersol, after demolishing his house and stealing his goods, they brought him almost naked into Connecticut, upon a horse's bare-ridge, in spite of the distresses of his mother and sister, which were enough to melt the heart of a savage, though

though producing in the *Sober Dissenters* nothing but peals of laughter that rent the skies. Treatment so extremely barbarous did Mr. Ingersol receive at their hands, that the Sheriff of Litchfield county could not withhold his interposition, by which means he was set at liberty after signing the league and covenant. The grand jury indicted some of the leaders in this riot ; but the court dismissed them, upon receiving information from Boston, that Ingersol had seceded from the house of representatives, and declared for the King of England.—What caused this irruption of the mob into great Great Barrington follows :—The laws of Massachusetts-bay give each town a power to vote a tax for the support of the ministry, schools, poor, &c. The money, when collected, is deposited with the town-treasurer, who is obliged to pay it according to the determination of the majority of voters. The *Sober Dissenters*, for many years, had been

been the majority in Barrington, and had annually voted about 200*l.* sterling for the ministry, above half of which was taken from churchmen and the Lutherans, whose ministers could have no part of it, because, separately, the greatest number of voters were *Sober Dissenters*, who gave the whole to their minister. This was deemed liberty and gospel in New-England; but mark the sequel. The Lutherans, and some other sects, having joined the church party, the church gained the majority. Next year, the town voted the money as usual for the ministry, &c. but the majority voted that the treasurer should pay the share appointed for the ministry to the church clergyman, which was accordingly done: whereupon the *Sober Dissenters* cried out, Tyranny and persecution! and applied to Governor Hutchinson, then the idol and protector of the independents, for relief. His Excellency, ever willing to leave,
“ Paul

“ Paul bound,” found a method of reversing the vote of the majority of the freemen of Barrington in favour of the churchmen, calling it “ a vote obtained by wrong and fraud.” The Governor, by law or without law, appointed Major Hawley, of Northampton, to be the moderator of the town-meeting in Barrington. The Major accordingly attended ; but, after exerting himself three days in behalf of his oppressed brethren, was obliged to declare that the episcopalians had a great majority of legal voters : he then went home, leaving matters as he found them. The *Sober Dissenters* were always so poor in Barrington, that they could not have supported their minister without taxing their neighbours ; and when they lost that power, their minister departed from them, “ because,” as he said, “ the Lord “ had called him to Rhode-Island.” To overthrow the majority of the church, and to establish the American Vine upon
its

its old foundation, was the main intention of the *Sober Dissenters* of Connecticut in visiting Great Barrington at this time.

The warlike preparations throughout the colonies, and the intelligence obtained from certain credible refùgees of a secret design formed in Connecticut and Massachusetts-bay to attack the royal army, induced General Gage to make some fortifications upon Boston-Neck, for their security. These of course gave offence; but much more the excursion of a body of the troops on the 19th of April, 1775, to destroy a magazine of stores at Concord, and the skirmishes which ensued. In a letter of the 28th of April, from Mr Trumbull, the Governor of Connecticut, to General Gage, after speaking of the "very just and general alarm" given the "good people" of that province by his arrival at Boston with troops, and subsequent fortifications, he tells the General, that

that " the late hostile and secret inroads
" of some of the troops under his com-
" mand into the heart of the country,
" and the violences they had committed,
" had driven them almost into a state of
" desperation." Certain it is, that the
populace were then so maddened, by false
representations and aggravations of events
unfortunate and lamentable enough in
themselves, as to be quite ripe for the
open rebellion the Governor and Assembly
were on the point of commencing, though
they had the effrontery to remonstrate
against the defensive proceedings of the
General, in order to conceal their treach-
ery. Further on, in the same letter, Mr.
Trumbull writes thus: " The people of
" this colony, you may rely upon it, ab-
" hor the idea of taking arms against the
" troops of their sovereign, and dread no-
" thing so much as the horrors of civil
" war; but, at the same time, we beg
" leave to assure your Excellency, that,
" as



“ as they apprehend themselves justified by
“ the principle of self-defence, so they
“ are most firmly resolved to defend their
“ rights and privileges to the last ex-
“ tremity ; nor will they be restrained
“ from giving aid to their brethren, if any
“ unjustifiable attack is made upon them.
“ — Is there no way to prevent this
“ unhappy dispute from coming to ex-
“ tremities ? Is there no alternative
“ but absolute submission, or the desola-
“ tions of war ? By that humanity which
“ constitutes so amiable a part of your
“ character ; for the honour of our so-
“ vereign, and by the glory of the Bri-
“ tish empire, we intreat you to prevent
“ it, if it be possible. Surely, it is to be
“ hoped, that the temperate wisdom of
“ the empire might, even yet, find ex-
“ pedients to restore peace, that so all
“ parts of the empire may enjoy their par-
“ ticular rights, honours, and immunities.
“ Certainly, this is an event most devout-
“ ly

“ly to be wished for; and will it not be
“consistent with your duty to suspend
“the operations of war on your part, and
“enable us on ours to quiet the minds of
“the people, at least, till the result of
“some further deliberations may be
“known?” &c. &c.

From this letter, written as it was by the Governor of a province, at the desire of its General Assembly, the people of England may learn to think of American as they do of French sincerity. It is almost past credit, that, amidst the earnest protestations it contains of a peaceable disposition in Mr. Trumbull and the rest of his coadjutors in the government of Connecticut, they were meditating, and actually taking measures for the capture of certain of the King's forts, and the destruction of General Gage and his whole army, instead of *quieting the minds of the people!* Yet such was the fact. They had commissioned Motte and Phelps to

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draught men from the militia, if volunteers should not readily appear, for a secret expedition, which proved to be against Ticonderago and Crown-Point; and the treasurer of the colony, by order of the Governor and Council, had paid 1500*l.* to bear their expences. Nay, even *before* the date of the above amicable epistle, Motte and Phelps had left Hertford on that treasonable undertaking, in which they were joined on the way by Colonels Allen and Easton. Nor was this the only insidious enterprize they had to cover. The "good people" throughout the province, to the number of near 20,000, were secretly arming themselves, and filing off, to avoid suspicion, in small parties of ten or a dozen, to meet "their brethren," the Massachusetts; not, however, with the view of "giving aid," "should any unjustifiable attack be made upon them," but to SURPRISE Boston by storm. In addition to the Governor's

vernor's letter, the mock-peace-makers the General Assembly had deputed Dr. Samuel Johnson, son of the Rev. Dr. Johnson, spoken of in this work, and Oliver Wolcot, Esq. both of the Council, which had ordered the 1500*l.* for the adventurers to Ticonderago, to wait upon General Gage, the more effectually to amuse and deceive him into confidence and inaction. But happily, at a critical time, just before the intended storm and slaughter at Boston, the news of the success of the *secret expedition* reached that town, which fully discovered the true character and business of the two Connecticut ambassadors, and rendered it necessary for them, *sans ceremonie*, to retire from Boston, and for General Gage, immediately, to render the fortifications at the Neck impregnable.

Thus did Connecticut, from its hot-bed of fanaticism and sedition, produce the first indubitable overt-act of high-trea-

son in the present rebellion, by actually levying war, and taking, *vi et armis*, the King's forts and stores; and, most probably, its obstinacy will render this the last of all the revolted states to acknowledge the supremacy of Parliament.

The *Sober Dissenters*, chagrined at being disappointed in their hostile project against Boston, readily embraced the opportunities which offered of wreaking their vengeance upon New-York. At the instance of the rebel party there, who found themselves too weak to effect their purpose of subverting the constitution of the province, a large body immediately posted to their assistance, delivered "their brethren" from the slavery of regal government, and invested them with the liberty of doing that which was fit in their own eyes, under the democratic administration of the immaculate Livingston's, Morris, Schyler, &c. &c. As seemed necessary to the furtherance of their pacific views, frequent

frequent irruptions were made afterwards, in which many loyalists were disarmed and plundered, and some of them taken prisoners. Among these last were the Rev. Dr. Seabury and the Mayor of New-York. Governor Tryon happily escaped their fury; as also did, very narrowly, the Rev. Miles Cooper, LL. D. who was leaving his house through a back window, when a party of ruffians burst into his chamber, and thrust their bayonets into the bed he had just quitted. Mr. Rivington, whose case has been published, was one of the sufferers by loss of property. Those "good people," who "dreaded nothing so much as the horrors of civil war," with the reverse of reluctance plundered his house of all his printing materials and furniture; and, having scrambled for the latter, carried the types to Newhaven, where they have since been employed in the service of Congress. The King's statue, however, maintained its ground

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till after Mr. Washington with the continental army had taken possession of the city ; when it was indicted of high treason against the dominions of America, found guilty, and received a quaint sentence of this kind, viz. That it should undergo the act of decollation ; and, inasmuch as it had no *bowels*, its *legs should be broken* ; that the lead of it should be run into bullets, for the destruction of the English bloody-backs, and the refuse be cast into the sea. The sentence was immediately carried into execution, amidst such huzza's and vociferations of *Praise ye the Lord !* that it brought to mind the songs at the annual feast of the calves-head club on the 30th of January, in derision of the royal martyr. This insult upon Majesty Mr. Washington thought proper thus to notice in his general orders of the next day. He was sorry, he said, that his soldiers should in a riotous manner pull down the statue of the King of Great-Britain ;

Britain; yet he could not but commend their zeal for defacing every monument of British tyranny.

It has been a matter of surprize to some politicians, that the people of Connecticut, who had no real grievance to complain of, should take so early and decided a part against the sovereignty of Britain, and exert themselves so exemplary in favour of the Bostonian tea-merchants, especially when, if the East-India Company had been permitted to import that commodity, they would have been supplied with it at half the price it usually cost them: but the wonder will instantly vanish, if it be considered, that this province was the seat of the annual convention of delegates from all the associations of protestant dissenters throughout America, which was first holden in 1764, as I have related. Here, their meetings were continued, year after year, without the least apprehension of disturbance from a

King's Governor; and here the arcana of the American vine, together with the solemn league and covenant, were deposited. It is not to be supposed but that the political principles of this synod would gradually become the principles of the *Sober Dissenters* in general; and the proceedings of the latter, when action was required, afford a clear proof both of the nature of those principles, and the enthusiasm with which they had been adopted. —Perhaps, no people in the world have been so much deceived as the commonalty of the English colonies in America. They were conscious of their happiness under the protection of Great-Britain, and wished for no change in government. Ten years ago the great majority would sooner have run their heads against the burning mountains, than have lifted up a finger with a view to a political separation from Great-Britain; and yet they have been prevailed upon, by the inflammatory effusions

fusions of the clergy, merchants, and lawyers, to commit a thousand mad excesses, run into open rebellion, and imbrue their hands in civil blood, under the idea of opposing injury, oppression, and slavery, though in reality to promote what has long been the grand aim of their instigators—INDEPENDENCE.

Having been a witness of the effects of the conventions of Dissenters in New-England, particularly that I have just been speaking of as taking place at New-haven in 1764, which was annually continued, without the least animadversion from any person in authority in Great-Britain, notwithstanding the intent of it was wholly prejudicial to her interests; I was the more mortified with the implied censure of a great man in very high office upon a meeting of the episcopal clergy, in his answer to an address they took the liberty to present to him, in the vain hope of its being productive of some benefit to the
church

church in America, but, alas! whose only fruit was a laconic letter to the following purport:—"I have been honoured with your address, and thank you for it; but am not acquainted by what authority you hold your convention."—The *hauteur* in this answer to such an assembly on such an occasion, however congruous with the pride and formality of office, was utterly repugnant to the dictates of policy. Britain lost by it half her friends in New-England; and I will presume to say, that Britain will lose all her friends in that country, whenever it shall be discovered that the sentiments of the English Parliament coincide, in that respect, with the sentiments of the writer.

Whilst Mr. Washington remained in possession of New-York, Connecticut served as a prison for those persons who had the misfortune to fall under his suspicion as disaffected to the cause of freedom. He was himself, however, at length obliged

obliged to evacuate it, by General How, to the great relief of such loyalists as remained.

In April 1777, some magazines having been formed by the Americans at Danbury and Ridgefield, Major-General Tryon was sent with 1800 men to carry off or destroy them. They reached the places of their destination with little opposition; but the whole force of the country being collected to obstruct his return, the General was obliged to set the stores on fire, by which means those towns were unavoidably burnt. David Wooster, the rebel General, Benedict Arnold's old acquaintance and mobbing confederate, received a fatal ball through his bladder, as he was harrassing the rear of the royal troops; of which, after being carried 40 miles to Newhaven, he died, and was there buried by the side of the grave of David Dixwell, one of the Judges of Charles the Martyr.

In

In the summer of 1779, the sufferings of the loyalists in Connecticut becoming too intolerable for longer endurance, General Sir Henry Clinton determined to attempt their relief. Accordingly, he detached a large party, under the command of General Tryon, which landed at New-haven, after being opposed by a number of rebels under the command of the Rev. Naphthali Dagget, the president of Yale College, who, notwithstanding the moderation which I have said marked his general character, was enthusiastic enough to hazard his life on this occasion. He lost it, and had the honour of being buried on Sodom Hill, near the grave of Deacon Potter, without a coffin. Having accomplished their purpose here, the troops sailed to Fairfield, which town they were necessitated, by the opposition of the rebels, to set fire to, before the loyalists could be released from prison. General Tryon then repaired to Norwalk, where
having

having by proclamation enjoined the inhabitants to keep within their houses, he ordered centinels to be stationed at every door, to prevent disorders ; a tenderness, however, they insulted, by firing upon the very men who were thus appointed to guard them. The consequence was, destruction to themselves and the whole town, which was laid in ashes.

I have now mentioned the principal proceedings by which the people of Connecticut have distinguished themselves in bringing on and supporting the rebellion of America ; and that, I apprehend, in a manner sufficiently particular to shew their violence, and to answer my purpose of giving the reader an idea of the present distracted, maimed state of the province, which many most respectable characters have been obliged to abandon, at the total loss of their property, to save their lives. It is very observable, that a peculiar, characteristic resolution appears

pears to possess the people of Connecticut. As, on one hand, rebellion has erected her crest in that province with more insolence and vigour than in the rest; so, on the other, loyalty has there exhibited proofs of zeal, attachment, perseverance and fortitude, far beyond example elsewhere to be found in America. In particular, the episcopal clergy have acquired immortal honour by their steady adherence to their oaths, and firmness under the "assaults of their enemies;" not a man amongst them all, in this fiery trial, having dishonoured either the King or church of England by apostacy. The sufferings of some of them I cannot wholly pass over in silence.

Among the greatest enemies to the cause of the *Sober Dissenters*, and among the greatest friends to that of the church of England, the Rev. Mr. Peters stood conspicuous. I have already represented him as so well shielded by the friendship and esteem

esteem of the inhabitants of Hebron, where he resided, as to be proof against the common weapons of fanaticism and malice. The Governor and Council, therefore, entered the lists, and, anxious at all events to get rid of so formidable a foe, accused him of being a spy of Lord North's and the Bishops. This allegation was published by the Governor's order, in every republican pulpit in the colony, on Sunday August 14, 1774, which induced a mob of Patriots from Windham county to arm and surround his house the same night, in the most tumultuous manner ordering the gates and doors to be opened. Mr. Peters, from his window, asked if they had a warrant from a magistrate to enter his house. They replied, "We have Joice's warrant, which Charles the traitor submitted to, and is sufficient for you." Peters told them he had but one life to lose, and he would lose it in defence of his house and property. Finally,

nally, after some further altercation, it was agreed that a committee from the mob should search the house, and read all papers belonging to Mr. Peters. A committee was accordingly nominated, who, after inspecting his papers as much as they pleased, reported, "that they were satisfied Mr. Peters was not guilty of any crime laid to his charge."

On Sunday the 4th of September, the country was alarmed by a letter from Colonel Putnam, declaring "that Admiral Graves had burnt Boston, and that General Gage was murdering old and young." The Governor of Connecticut took the liberty to add to Mr. Putnam's letter, "except churchmen and the addressers of Governor Hutchinson." The same day 40,000 men began their march from Connecticut to Boston, and returned the next, having heard that there was no truth in Putnam's reports. Dr. Bellamy, thanked God for this false alarm, as he had thereby

by pointed out "the inhabitants of Meroz, who went not to the help of the Lord against the mighty." No churchmen, presbyterians, or Sandemanians, were among the 40,000 insurgents; and that was judged to be sufficient proof of their disaffection to the liberties of America. The Governor seized this opportunity to set the mobs again, with redoubled fury, upon the Rev. Mr. Peters, and the loyalists, whom they then called Peterites; and the intoxicated ruffians spared neither their houses, goods, nor persons. Some had their bowels crouded out of their bodies; others were covered with filth, and marked with the sign of the cross by a mop filled with excrements, in token of their loyalty to a king who designed to crucify all the good people of America. Even women were hung by the heels, tarred, and feathered. Mr. Peters, with his gown and cloaths torn off, was treated in the most insulting manner : his mother,
E e daughter,

daughter, two brothers, and servants, were wounded; one of his brothers so badly, that he died soon after. Mr. Peters was then obliged to abscond and fly to the royal army in Boston, from whence he went to England, by which means he has hitherto preserved his life, though not his property, from the rapacious and bloody hands of his countrymen.—The Rev. Messieurs Mansfield and Viets were cast into jail, and afterwards tried for high treason against America. Their real offence was charitably giving victuals and blankets to loyalists flying from the rage of drunken mobs. They were not indeed convicted in so high a degree as the court intended; but were fined and imprisoned, to the ruin of themselves and families.—The Rev. Messieurs Graves, Scovil, Dibblee, Nichols, Leaming, Beach, and divers others, were cruelly dragged through mire and dirt. In short, all the clergy of the church were infamously insulted,

insulted, abused, and obliged to seek refuge in the mountains, till the popular phrenzy was somewhat abated.

In July, 1776, the congress having declared the independency of America, and ordered the commonwealth to be prayed for instead of the King and royal family, all the loyal episcopal churches north of the Delaware were shut up, except those immediately under the protection of the British army, and one at Newtown, in Connecticut, of which last the Rev. Mr. John Beach was the rector, whose grey haes, adorned with loyal and christian virtues, overcame even the madness of the *Sober Dissenters*. This faithful disciple disregarded the congressional mandate, and praying for the King as usual, they pulled him out of his desk, put a rope about his neck, and drew him across Osootonoc river, at the tail of a boat, *to cool his loyal zeal*, as they called it; after which, the old *Confessor* was per-

mitted to depart, though not without a prohibition to pray longer for the King. But his *loyal zeal* was insuperable. He went to church, and prayed again for the King; upon which the *Sober Dissenters* again seized him, and resolved upon cutting out his tongue; when the heroic veteran said, "If my blood must be shed, let it not be done in the house of God." The pious mob then dragged him out of the church, laid his neck on a block, and swore they would cut off his head; and insolently crying out, "Now, you old Devil! say your last prayer," he prayed thus, "*God blefs King George, and forgive all his and my enemies!*" At this unexpected and exalted display of christian patience and charity, the mob so far relented as to discharge and never molested him afterwards for adhering to the liturgy of the church of England and his ordination oath; but they relaxed not in their severities towards the other clergymen, because,

because, they said, younger consciences are more flexible.

I cannot conclude this work without remarking, what a contrast to the episcopal clergy of Connecticut, and especially to this illustrious example of the venerable Beach, is afforded by too many of those in the provinces south of Delaware. Here, whilst they suffered every thing but death for tenaciously adhering to their ordination oaths; there, some of them, of more enlarged consciences, were not ashamed to commit perjury in prayer, and rebellion in preaching,—though, be it remembered, their expressions were decent, when compared with those of the fanatics in New-England. The following prayer, used by them before Congress, after the declaration of independence, seems to me too likely to gratify the curiosity of my readers to be omitted. It brought the clergymen into disgrace merely by its moderation.

E c 3

“ O LORD,

“ O LORD, our heavenly father, King
“ of Kings, and Lord of Lords, who dost
“ from thy throne behold all the dwellers
“ upon earth, and reignest, with power
“ supreme and uncontrouled, over all
“ kingdoms, empires, and governments;
“ look down in mercy, we beseech thee,
“ upon these our American states, who
“ have fled to thee *from the rod of the*
“ *oppressor*, and thrown themselves upon
“ thy gracious protection, desiring *hence-*
“ *forth to be dependent only upon thee.*
“ To thee have they appealed for *the*
“ *righteousness of their cause*; to thee do
“ they now look up for that countenance
“ and support, which thou alone canst
“ give. Take them, therefore, heavenly
“ Father, under thy nurturing care; give
“ them wisdom in council, valour in the
“ field. Defeat the *malicious designs of*
“ *our cruel adversaries*; convince them
“ of the *unrighteousness of their cause*;
“ and, if they still persist in their *san-*
“ *guinary*

“ *guinary purposes*, O let the voice of thy
“ unerring justice, sounding in their hearts,
“ constrain them to drop the weapons of
“ war from their enerved hands in the
“ day of battle. Be thou present, O
“ God of wisdom, and direct the coun-
“ cils of this *honourable assembly*. Enable
“ them to settle things upon the best and
“ surest foundation ; that the scenes of
“ blood may be speedily closed ; that or-
“ der, harmony, and peace, may effect-
“ ually be restored, and truth and justice,
“ religion and piety, prevail and flourish
“ amongst *thy people*. Preserve the health
“ of their bodies, and the vigour of their
“ minds ; shower down upon them, and
“ *the millions they represent*, such tem-
“ poral blessings as thou seeest expedient
“ for them in this world, and crown them
“ with everlasting glory in the world to
“ come. All this we ask, in the name
“ and through the merits of Jesus Christ,
“ thy Son, our Saviour. *Amen.*”

E c 4

I will

I will not deny that rebels are to be found among the episcopal clergy north of the Delaware; but they amount to five only, and not one of them belongs to the colony of Connecticut.

P. S. The Rev. Mr. Nathaniel Hooker, mentioned in p. 167, as residing at Hertford, is now dead.

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